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NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Warsaw Pact Summit To Be Held in Moscow 7 Jun

LD3105142490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1351 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A summit meeting of the Warsaw Pact states is to take place on 7 June in Moscow. According to the GDR Foreign Ministry today, the routine session of the Political Consultative Committee of the participant states will take place as agreed.

The GDR Disarmament and Defense Ministry had on the same day denied agency reports that this summit had been called in Berlin. In the middle of June, however, the committee of the Warsaw Pact Defence ministers will meet in the GDR capital.

Luschev, Others Attend Prague Pre-Summit Talks

LD3105153790 Prague CTK in English 1417 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Prague May 31 (CTK)—A meeting concerning further development of the Warsaw Treaty and security structures in Europe took place here today in connection with the forthcoming regular session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee in Moscow.

Present at the meeting were the Czechoslovak president's advisers Jiri Krizan and Sasa Vondra, press spokesman of the Foreign Ministry Lubos Dobrovsky and chief of the Czechoslovak President's Military Office Lieutenant-General Ladisav Tomecek, and main chief of the joined armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states Army General Petr Lushev, chief of the staff of the joined armed forces Army General Vladimir Lobov and senior representative of the main chief of the joined armed forces of the Czechoslovak Defence Minister Colonel-General Yevgeni Kondakov.

Hungarian Leaders to Attend Pact PCC Session

LD3105204390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] According to MTI's information, interim President of the Republic Arpad Goncz, Premier Jozsef Antall, Defense Minister Lajos Fuer, and State Secretary of Foreign Affairs Ferenc Somogyi will travel to the Soviet capital as members of the Hungarian delegation to the 7 June session of the Warsaw Pact Political [PCC] Consultative Committee in Moscow.

Also according to MTI's information, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky will have talks on 29 June with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner on all-European cooperation.

BSP Daily Comments on Yeltsin's Victory

AU3105192290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 May 90 p 6

[Valeri Naydenov commentary: "The Kremlin's Robin Hood"]

[Text] The Soviet Robin Hood conquered the throne of the kingdom's most important castle.

Boris Yeltsin, who for the last two-and-a-half years has been breaking all the rules of the Kremlin game, was elected chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet on 29 May. He is the president of Russia. As far as the meaning and future consequences of his victory are concerned, they depend on Yeltsin himself.

All this, however, means that something has changed, and the change is considerable. In a country where the political leaders' private life was surrounded by secrecy, Yeltsin managed to be a daily source of sensational news over the last two-and-a-half years. He was the subject of rumors about aircraft accidents with mysterious causes. He was allegedly kidnapped, put in a bag, and thrown from a bridge into the river. This was followed by shocking accusations and murderous denials. He was involved in an endless series of gaffes that would have upset any other boat.

Nevertheless, all these powerful attacks were just wind for Yeltsin's sails. Instead of raising their eyebrows at the never subsiding series of scandals taking place amidst their noble family, the leaders in our fraternal country, and also leaders in our country, should have long since tried to learn some lessons from the Yeltsin phenomenon. Yeltsin was the first of the Kremlin politicians' new generation who proved that he is not a man of subtle apparatus manipulations but a man of action, and that this is the kind of man the people have been waiting for.

As is known, the first in the series of Yeltsin's sensational acts was his statement at a plenum on the eve of the October Revolution's 70th anniversary. After that speech, everyone considered him politically dead.

However, the deceased was resurrected, and he was even more alive than anyone else. It turned out that the people are starving for deeds, they are craving for action like the desert for water.

Now that Yeltsin has become the leader of Russia, which represents 75 percent of the USSR territory, we can expect that he will do something out of the ordinary—for better, or for worse. We can be sure that he will disrupt the rules of the game, that he will carry on through thick and thin, and so forth.

All this may be inevitable and necessary, for all we know. As the old saying goes: The worst of all bad solutions in a difficult situation is not doing anything. Under such circumstances, the Yeltsin phenomenon should presumably be considered as something like a "first aid" of history.

Economic Cooperation Session Held With USSR

AU2805175290 Sofia BTA in English 1620 GMT 28 May 90

["Bulgaria—USSR: Market Economy and Business Contacts"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 28 (BTA)—Economic interaction in the transition to a market economy is high on the agenda of the session which the Bulgaro-Soviet Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation opened here today [28 May]. The sides share the conviction that the radical changes in the two countries will help improve bilateral business contacts. The participants will consider the fulfillment of the agreements reached between the two heads of government on March 19, 1990, paying special attention to the preparation of an agreement on a transition as from 1991 to settlement in convertible currency at current world prices.

Questions concerning cooperation in metallurgy (to help operate the Bulgarian metal industry at full capacity), in manufacturing light industry equipment and the joint production of motor cars will are discussed at the session, too.

Mladenov Meets Deputy Premier

AU3005092790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] On 30 May, President Petur Mladenov received Vladimir Gusev, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, who is visiting Bulgaria in connection with the 34th session of the Bulgarian-USSR Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation. Vladimir Gusev was also received by Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov.

Mladenov Briefed on Progress

AU3005132090 Sofia BTA in English 1147 GMT 30 May 90

["On Bulgaro-Soviet Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 30 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the republic, today [30 May] received Mr Chudomir Aleksandrov and Mr Vladimir Gusev, cochairmen of the Intergovernmental Bulgaro-Soviet Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation and deputy chairmen of the two countries' Councils of Ministers.

They discussed the proceedings of the 34th session of the Bulgaro-Soviet commission and the promotion of bilateral trade and economic relations on the basis of mutual benefit. The sides briefed each other on the political, economic and social situation in the two countries. They share the conviction that Bulgaro-Soviet relations will retain their role as an important stabilizing factor of the two countries' development.

Bulgaro-Soviet economic relations in the transition to a market economy were discussed here today by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr Andrey Lukanov, and Mr Vladimir Gusev, vice chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. They noted the need for these relations to keep developing in the best interests of the two countries in line with their reorientation to market economy.

'Market Mechanisms' To Be Used

AU3005183690 Sofia BTA in English 1746 GMT 30 May 90

["For Market Economic Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 30 (BTA)—The inclusion of market mechanisms in Bulgaro-Soviet economic relations is related with the transition next year to a system of payments in freely convertible currency according to world prices. But Soviet Government Deputy Chairman Vladimir Gusev recommends "to cool down" and "stay away from the shock therapy" in a sphere as delicate as international relations. This opinion is shared by Chudomir Aleksandrov, Bulgaria's deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, who together with Vladimir Gusev heads a bilateral commission on economic and techno-scientific cooperation.

To keep inviolable centuries-old Bulgaro-Soviet relations, as the two governments' deputy leaders told journalists, as well as to improve relations in the new conditions, the transition towards the new system of payments is related with the development of a special mechanism for its application which restricts the difficulties which have already been envisaged.

At present 60 per cent of the Soviet supplies are "currency," while for Bulgaria this percentage is 10.

The bilateral economic commission deals mainly with the development of consumer goods. Conversion is looked upon as a way out of these problems, for which an agreement was signed between the Bulgarian Ministry of Industry and Technology and the Soviet Ministry of the Defence Industry. This will promote the development of cooperation in the light and foodstuffs industry, in the production of appliances of trade enterprises.

Plans in metallurgy are to operate Bulgarian metallurgy at full capacity by supplies of Soviet raw materials and to export the production to third countries. Yugoslavia is expected to join this cooperation.

Concrete results are to be expected soon in the production of cars of which there is a great shortage in Bulgaria.

Varna-Vilnius Airline Route Opens 25 May

AU2605185590 Sofia BTA in English 1225 GMT 26 May 90

[Text] Varna, May 26 (BTA)—Aeroflot and the Balkan Bulgarian Airlines have started a new scheduled air service between Varna and Vilnius. Eight air services already link the Black Sea resort with a capital city of a constituent republic in the USSR.

The two-hour ten-minute long maiden flight on the service, which touched down in Varna at 17:57 hrs yesterday [25 May], brought in Lithuanian holidaymakers bound for the seaside resorts of Albena and Golden Sands.

Belchev Makes Visit to France for Aid

AU2805161590 Sofia BTA in English 1515 GMT 28 May 90

["Bulgaro-French Cooperation After Elections"—BTA headline]

[Text] Paris, May 28 (BTA correspondent)—Mr. Belcho Belchev, minister of finance of Bulgaria, had a meeting with Mr. Lionel Stoleru, secretary of state for planning of France. They discussed Bulgaria's economic problems and France's readiness to help her in overcoming the crisis.

"We have already mapped out the cooperation between France and Bulgaria after the elections when the Bulgarian Government will be able to tackle more energetically the problem of the transition to a market economy," Mr. Stoleru stated. Asked by the BTA correspondent if it means that Mr. Stoleru hopes to maintain contacts with the same Government after the elections, the latter said, "governments may change, but countries remain. We should think about our future cooperation now."

As to Bulgaria's large foreign debt Mr. Lionel Stoleru pointed out that this problem should be solved with assistance from abroad in such a way as to prevent any blocking of the country's transition to a market economy. Concerning the future of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance the French secretary of state said that this organization is worthy of paying attention to it and that despite its shortcomings it should not be liquidated.

Minister Belcho Belchev said that Mr. Stoleru's evaluations and recommendations are met by the Bulgarian specialists with great interest. He confirmed that France did not set any political conditions for the further development of the two countries' relations. "The agreements on principle already reached will be further extended after the elections. No matter what the next government may be, if it is chosen in a democratic way there is no doubt that France will cooperate with it," the Bulgarian minister went on to say.

Meets Mitterrand

AU3005073790 Sofia BTA in English 0702 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Paris, May 30 (BTA correspondent)—Yesterday [29 May], after the constituent document for the establishment of the European Reconstruction and Development Bank was signed by 40 countries and two European organizations, France's President Francois Mitterrand had a short talk with Mr. Belcho Belchev, minister of finance and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, who passed to the French president the personal regards of Mr. Petur Mladenov, president of Bulgaria. Mr. Belchev thanked for the precise fulfillment of the commitment of the French Government which resulted in signing a bank agreement under which Bulgaria has been granted a credit of Ffr [French Francs] 300 million.

Minister Belcho Belchev told the BTA correspondent, "The European Reconstruction and Development Bank is very important for us, let us take alone the fact that such a big international institution will consider the projects for the development of different production branches in the country and will give its competent conclusion as to whether they would meet the contemporary requirements, whether they would be profitable enough, whether the quality of their output would be up to the world standards. At a later stage the bank can serve as a bridge for our production for which we will seek markets in the West. We will expect to get credits mainly for highly efficient small and medium-sized enterprises in the food industry and tourism and probably in some other industrial branches—electronics for example, the output of which could be quickly realized in the market."

Belchev Meets Industrialists

AU3005195790 Sofia BTA in English 1901 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Paris, May 30 (BTA corr.)—Belcho Belchev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of finances, was invited today [30 May] at the National Council of French Industrialists to have talks with leaders of 23 large companies and banks which maintain relations with Bulgaria.

The guest was asked to estimate the economic situation in Bulgaria and state the viewpoints of the present communist government about the overcoming of the economic crisis.

The deputy president of the French industrialists Michel Fresh said that economic relations between Bulgaria and France are long-lasting and fruitful and that he is happy with their normal development even in the present stage of profound political changes in Eastern Europe. He stressed that the French industrialists are aware of the production, trade, and currency and financial difficulties in Bulgaria and would like to expand cooperation which will be contribute to that country's efforts to take a worthy place in Europe.

The French side showed special interest in the sphere of communications, tourism, metallurgy, textile industry, informatics, avio-technology and the construction of airports.

Yugoslav Tourists Accused of Subversion

AU3105201490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 May 90 pp 1,2

[Correspondent Ivan Ilkov report: "Yugoslav Tourists Engage in Subversive Activities"]

[Text] According to recent reports of the Regional Internal Affairs Directorate in Blagoevgrad, Yugoslav citizens are frequently crossing our borders to participate in events organized by the anti-Bulgarian organization, "Ilinden."

For example, on the occasion of the traditional gathering held at the Rozhen Monastery on 22 April, 100 Yugoslav citizens organized a propaganda rally, together with the support of the "Ilinden" movement, at which Bulgarians were defined as "occupiers" and "killers."

As is known, the so-called "Ilinden" United Macedonian Organization proclaims the slogan for the separation of Pirin Macedonia from our country. A small but militant group tried to hold a "vigil" at the Gotse Delchev monument in Blagoevgrad during a citywide celebration on 4 May 1990, to cite a further example.

The Bulgarian citizens who attended the event sharply reacted against this small group and against the television crew from Skopje, and only the measures of the regional internal affairs directorate prevented the situation from developing in the expected manner.

Leaflets and other anti-Bulgarian materials are being disseminated in some inhabited settlements. Members of the organization in question even joined the election campaign, trying to persuade the population to abstain from voting.

At a meeting with representatives of the major political parties, the directorate leadership briefed them on the activities of the so-called "Ilinden" United Macedonian Organization. They expressed concern and the wish for more resolute actions. This request is supported by numerous calls from concerned citizens who confirm the general evaluation of the organization's illegal and anti-constitutional nature.

The regional internal affairs directorate provided evidence for data on individual Yugoslav citizens, public organizations, and state bodies in Yugoslavia that are directly involved in the organization and leadership of the "Ilinden" Organization. On 24 May 1990, the Yugoslav citizen Pante Mitev from Kocane, who crossed the border at the Stanke Lisichkovo border checkpoint, was discovered to be in the possession of materials belonging to the organization and intended to be submitted to the relevant Yugoslav bodies. A similar case is that of Georgi Petrovski from Strumica, who on 26 May 1990, in crossing the border at the Zlatarevo checkpoint, tried to smuggle slanderous, anti-Bulgarian materials handed to him by members of the aforementioned organization. The materials contained a letter of gratitude written by Sokrat Makrilov from Petrich for the moral support and financial assistance he received from Skopje.

On 27 May 1990, a customs investigation conducted against Ilya Filipov from Sandanski revealed that he was in the possession of outright propaganda pamphlets intended for dissemination in Bulgaria, including a proclamation of the recently establish anti-Bulgarian party in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

Several "Ilinden" members visited the SFRY on several occasions over the last month, and their leader, Stoyan Georgiev, has been in Skopje for the last 10 days, where he has organized a meeting with political and public figures on anti-Bulgarian subjects.

Individuals, such as Vikhren Ivanov Zaprev, Krasimir Khristov Kolev, and others who have been convicted for criminal offenses, are also members of the "Ilinden" Organization.

The Regional Internal Affairs Directorate was informed that part of the "Ilinden" members are planning to engage in underground activities. We can expect them to get involved in other antistate acts, regardless of the official warning they have received from the Blageovgrad Okrug Prosecutor's Office that they should discontinue the activities of their organization.

On the basis of all this information, the Regional Internal Affairs Directorate declared its resolve to apply all measures envisioned by law for halting the anti-Bulgarian and anticonstitutional actions of Bulgarian and foreign citizens related to the "Ilinden" organization's activities.

Mladenov Briefed on Vienna CFE, CSCE Talks

AU3105185090 Sofia BTA in English
1822 GMT 31 May 90

["President on European Security"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 31 (BTA)—Mr. Petur Mladenov, president of the republic, today [31 May] received Ambassador Lyuben Petrov, head of the Bulgarian delegation to the Vienna Conventional Forces in Europe [CFE] Talks and to the Talks on Confidence and Security-Building Measures in Europe [CSCE], who briefed him on the progress of the negotiations and on matters of paramount importance for Bulgaria's security.

The president stressed this country's determination to assist for a successful completion of the talks by the end of this year and in connection with the CSCE summit. Particular attention was paid to the security of the states on the flanks of Europe, and confidence was expressed that the interests of all countries on the continent, Bulgaria included, will be safeguarded.

Romanian, Libyan Ambassadors Present Credentials

AU3105134390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
30 May 90 p 2

[Text] Sofia, 29 May (BTA)—President Petur Mladenov today received in succession Alexandru Petrescu, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Romania to our country, and Muhammad Farah al-Qammudi, newly appointed secretary of the People's Bureau of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, who presented their credentials.

The Romanian ambassador pointed out his satisfaction with the possibility of beginning his activities under the new conditions characterized by the fundamental changes aimed at the democratization of economic, social, and political life, which are under way both in Bulgaria and Romania.

The Arab Libyan people appreciate and high evaluate Bulgaria's support, the new leader of the Libyan diplomatic mission pointed out. In stressing that his country is following the current political development and the economic reforms in Bulgaria with great attention, he welcomed the National Assembly's decision to grant the population that professes the Islamic religion the right to practice its religious rites and revive its traditional roots. The Libyan diplomat expressed his country's wish to contribute to the development of good, friendly relations between the two peoples based on mutual respect and cooperation in the spheres of politics, economic affairs, culture, and the arts.

Alexandru Petrescu was born in Silistra. He is a specialist hydrotechnical construction specialist.

Ecoglasnost Threatens Protest Over Romanian Plant

AU3105201790 Sofia BTA in English
1938 GMT 31 May 90

["Ecoglasnost Threatens With Civil Disobedience"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 31 (BTA)—The Ecoglasnost Independent Association insists that the Council of Ministers urgently contact the Romanian Government or else it will launch a civil disobedience action on June 8 and will call on Bulgarian and Romanian citizens to form human chains and to hold rallies, Mr. Petur Slabakov, president of the association, said on national television this evening [31 May].

Ecoglasnost insists that production should stop on sites two and three of the Giurgiu Chemical Plant and that the hazardous products and raw materials stored there should be removed.

The Ecoglasnost statement was occasioned by the panic and the mass hysteria in Ruse over the possibility of the warehouses in the chlorine plant in Giurgiu across the Danube being destroyed by an earthquake and triggering off an environmental disaster. After the two earth tremors on May 30 and 31, the content of chlorine ions in Ruse was found to exceed the medically acceptable levels. The people of Ruse formed a human chain at the centre of the city this evening. They chanted "stop poisoning the city" and "life for Ruse."

Only 30 Percent Believe Elections To Be Fair

AU3105201790 Sofia BTA in English 1919 GMT 31 May 90

["Only 30 Percent Believe in Fair Elections"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 31 (BTA)—Only 30 per cent of the 2,760 respondents in a public opinion poll conducted by the Bulgarian Television Audience Research Unit believe that the June 10 elections will be fair everywhere in the country. The rest call this into question. The results will be rigged, 5.4 per cent say. The poll was conducted among voting-age Bulgarians and unlike the polls carried out by the National Centre for Public Opinion Research required a free answer question.

Asked "Who stands in the way of democratization in Bulgaria?" 25.6 per cent list the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), 23.5 per cent the ruling Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), and 14.8 per cent the central and local nomenklatura; 26.6 per cent believe that the changes should be slow and gradual and should take a long period of time, while 66 per cent favour a resolute and fast transition, i.e. the so-called "shock therapy."

The prime minister, Mr. Andrey Lukanov, got the highest approval rating: 46 per cent, ahead of President Petur Mladenov's 38 per cent, BSP leader Aleksandur Lilov's 22 per cent, opposition leader Zhelyu Zhelev's 20 per cent, Social Democratic Party Chairman Petur Dertliev's 19 per cent, Defence Minister Dobri Dzhurov's 15 per cent. Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, president of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, got the lowest approval rating.

Citizens Initiative for Fair Elections Forms

AU3105193190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 May 90 p 5

[Mitko Bozhkov report: "'Citizens Initiative for Free and Democratic Elections' Association Established"]

[Text] "Guaranteeing fair, free, and democratic elections!"—this is the motto of the new association headed by Leda Mileva, Vladimir Ganovski, and Enyu Komitov as co-chairmen. Constructive spirit, loyalty, and cooperation—these are the most distinctive features of this supraparty formation. Its main goal is to assist citizens and to cooperate with them in freely and legitimately exercising their voting and other political rights.

The tasks of the "Citizens' Initiative for Free and Democratic Elections" Association were explained at a news conference held at the Sofia People's Palace of Culture. The association is based on an idea launched by a group of young lawyers. So far it has 1,000 members, but their number is steadily increasing. With its initiative groups and coordinators who exist all over the country, the association "covers" over 170 municipalities. Supporters of different party and nonmembers of parties are invited to join. By the decision of the Central Electoral Commission, the association is invited to witness the Grand National Assembly elections as a guest.

Leda Mileva stated: "Our two associations—our own and the Association in Support of Fair Elections have emerged independently, but they are offsprings of our present era. They share numerous common features and closely related targets that complement each other. We are in favor of consolidation. We can assist each other and organize joint actions."

The "Citizens' Initiative for Free and Democratic Elections" is expected to issue organizational-technical and legal advice materials; it intends to take care of its members' and aktivists' further education. It has the ambition to pursue its activities even after the parliamentary elections in June 1990 by working for the improvement of the Bulgarian citizens' political education.

The association can be reached at the following address: Sofia, 2-A Aleksandur Stamboliyski Avenue, fourth floor, room No. 246; telephone number: 87-22-14.

Opposition Bloc Split on Coalition With BSP

AU3105184690 Sofia BTA in English 1804 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Sofia, May 31 (BTA)—After the elections the Republican Party of Bulgaria would form a coalition government with the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) only if the latter gives up its socialist programme, Prof. Aleksandur Popov, chairman of the Republican Party, stated at a news conference today [31 May]. He explained that his party is ready to cooperate after the elections with all political forces which would accept certain preliminary conditions. The Republicans want their possible partners to give enough guarantees that by common effort they can help the country out of the present crisis; the programmes of the BSP and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) do not provide such guarantees, he said.

The chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party, Mr. Zdravko Daskalov, pointed out that the party he chairs will not participate in the future government, no matter what it may be, because it is doomed to failure.

At the beginning of May this year the Republican Party of Bulgaria, the Liberal Democratic Party and four more parties formed an election coalition under the name of Political Opposition Bloc-Centre (POB). The POB has nominated 148 candidates who will run in the forthcoming elections for a grand national assembly in the single and the multi-member constituencies.

At today's news conference the POB leaders pointed out that all other parties, except the BSP, the BZNS and the members of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF], have been deprived of equal opportunities in the election campaign; they were not given adequate radio and television time, they have no representatives in many of the constituency and district electoral commissions. They criticized the leaders of the SDS for not admitting other opposition parties in their union and declared that the SDS bears the political responsibility for the split of the opposition before the elections. Mr. Zdravko Daskalov even said that the SDS is "a manipulated pro-communist opposition".

Political Opposition Bloc Criticizes UDF

AU3105162990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] The Political Opposition Bloc-Center gave a news conference on the election campaign. This bloc, although it includes only four parties, is supporting election candidates representing six political parties. At present, the candidates registered by it number 148.

The two speakers at the conference—Liberal Democratic Party leader Zdravko Daskalov and Republican Party leader Aleksandur Popov—drew attention to a number of decisions in the Law on Electing a Grand National Assembly that, in their view, place the political parties outside the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] on an unequal footing.

As our reporter Aglaya Shamlieva informed us, sharp attacks were made against the UDF at the news conference, such as—I quote—a manipulated procommunist opposition. According to the Political Opposition Bloc-Center, the roundtable is merely a body that allocated radio and television time during the election campaign for its own benefit and left crumbs for the other political forces.

The leaders of the Political Opposition Bloc-Center expressed their reservations regarding the method by which the Central Electoral Commission was formed and concerning certain of its decisions.

Opposition Rally Interrupted by BSP Supporters

AU3105184990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] The Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] held an election rally in the town of Omurtag, with the participation of Zhelyu Zhelev.

In their addresses, the speakers made sharp attacks on the Bulgarian Socialist Party, and Omurtag was described as a primeval island, a backwater in the country's overall development.

The motive for these comments was provided by 1,500 supporters of the ruling party, who waved red flags, jeered the speakers, and made catcalls at the rally. A declaration was read containing accusations against the Omurtag Municipal People's Council and the Directorate of the People's Militia for permitting a counterrally.

Electoral Commissions Conference Opens

AU3105111390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] [Announcer] A nationwide conference of chairmen and secretaries of local electoral commissions throughout the country, attended by representatives of the Central Electoral Commission and the Council of Ministers, opened at the Sofia People's Palace of Culture on 31 May. Zlatina Georgieva reports from the conference:

[Georgieva] Central Electoral Commission Chairman Zhivkov Stalev announced that the basic principle of parity in respect to the attendance of representatives from all political forces has been observed, which guarantees the correct and accurate work of the electoral commissions.

Central Electoral Commission Secretary Dimitur Popov explained details of the work and duties of the constituency and polling stations' electoral commissions.

It is now necessary to issue instructions on the work of the local polling stations' electoral commissions. Today is the last day on which voters' registers can be updated or amended. The updated registers will be announced on 5 June in the respective polling stations. In the case of inaccuracies, citizens are entitled to require corrections. Today, 31 May, is also the deadline for issuing certificates authorizing citizens to vote in places other than their usual place of residence.

It is also necessary to check on the preparation of the polling stations' premises. It is recommended that preparations should proceed [word indistinct] and that decorations should be neutral. Members of the electoral commissions are requested not to wear any badges, buttons, or distinctive signs indicating their party affiliation. Foreign individuals who have been officially invited by the Bulgarian government, political parties, members of the Social Council, and representatives of the two associations for fair elections are expected to be present in the polling stations. These individuals have the status of guests and are not considered as observers.

Electoral commissions' members will be protected by security guards. It was further reported at the conference that the time of voting may be prolonged indefinitely after 1800 local time on election day, 10 June 1990, as long as citizens who have not yet voted and want to vote are still coming to the polling stations.

The conference is continuing with debates at this very moment.

Conference Ends

AU3105184590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] A national conference of the chairmen and secretaries of the district electoral commissions throughout the country was held in the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia on 31 May, together with representatives of the Central Electoral Commission and the Council of Ministers.

The idea of the conference was to acquaint the participants with the latest decisions of the Central Electoral Commission, and to provide certain explanations concerning the Law on Electing a Grand National Assembly.

Central Electoral Commission Chairman Zhivko Stalev declared that basic parity had been preserved in the electoral commissions for the representatives of all political forces, which guarantees their correct functioning.

Many issues were elucidated relating to the voting procedures, the method of counting the ballots, the transportation of the ballots, communications with the Central Electoral Commission, the rights and obligations of the members of the section and district electoral commissions, as well as of the visitors.

It was announced that voting on the election day of 10 June may continue after 1800 [1500 GMT] as long as people wishing to vote were waiting at the polling stations. It was also stated that so far 54 states have given their agreement for the Bulgarian elections to be held on their soil.

Social Council Holds First Meeting on Elections

AU3105104290 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 29 May 90 p 1

[BTA report: "Social Councils Are Being Established in Bulgaria"]

[Text] The Social Council, which was established in accordance with the National Roundtable agreement to provide guarantees for free elections and which is composed of 24 members—representatives of the major political forces, public figures, and nonparty members—held its first session. The proposal to establish local social councils on a municipality basis was submitted. These councils are expected to work in close contact with and under the general supervision of the central Social Council. According to the proposal, it would be expedient if the number of the local social councils' members should not exceed 11 and that each local council should be composed of two Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] representatives, two Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] representatives, two Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] representatives, and of representatives from other parties and nonparty members.

The councils are expected to cooperate with the electoral commissions in preparing and holding the elections in a spirit of mutual respect and social peace. They are not entitled to interfere in the work of the electoral commissions and to influence the voters.

All political and public organizations and citizens are entitled to submit their complaints, protests, and warnings to the social councils, in addition to the electoral commissions. In accordance with the national roundtable agreement, the executive committees and townships are urged to cooperate with the local social councils in implementing their tasks.

The Social Council is based in the National Assembly building. Citizens are free to address all their reports, warnings, and announcements to the council by calling the following telephone numbers: 887-23-47; 887-21-74; and 87-80-81.

Effects of Market Economy, Unemployment Viewed

AU3105112990 Sofia BTA in English 0852 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Sofia, May 31 (BTA)—There are no conditions for permanent unemployment in Bulgaria, for the time being, and there are hopes that the switch to a market economy will prevent a catastrophe in this sphere. Goran Goranov, deputy-chairman of the Labor and Social Insurance Committee is not worried by the 18 thousand unemployed who have been registered in Bulgaria since the beginning of the year nor by the 68 thousand people who are working but would like to change their jobs and have visited the labor desks. Goranov writes in DUMA that there are now 65 thousand vacant places but unlike previous years when there was almost half a million annual fluctuation of manpower, people now would rather stick to their jobs.

The article explains that the problems in the sphere of employment are hereditary. The priority of certain branches which has been artificially maintained for years brought a structural lack of balance in the economy as well as an artificial insufficiency of manpower. The market economy, which also means restructuring will bring to a relative surplus, Goran Goranov thinks.

The companies will shake free of useless personnel and productions. New types of production will be relied upon which are to take in the unemployed. This is rather difficult as it requires requalification.

Free movement of manpower will help, too, and a number of documents, which used to restrict it have been abolished and more changes are expected to take place.

Mr Goranov would not like to count unemployed the tens of thousands of people unregistered to work but handling some business "in the shadow" and dealing with prostitution, currency speculations and whatever not.

Further Reportage on Landsbergis Visit

Students Union Meeting

LD3105132690 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1300 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Vytautas Landsbergis, president of the Lithuanian parliament, this morning visited the students union in Prague. He thanked our young people for the resolute support for his country they have expressed. In connection with the Soviet military interventions in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968, he said that if something like this happens in Lithuania, the Lithuanian people will attain freedom much faster than in the 20-30 years, as was the case in Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

Vytautas Landsbergis also met today with Zdenek Jicinskiy, federal assembly deputy chairman, who assured him that we are following Lithuanian efforts aimed at gaining independence with great understanding, and that we are interested in solving these complicated problems peacefully and democratically. This is important not only for the peoples living in the Soviet Union and for our own peoples, but also for a successful course of peaceful integration processes in Europe.

News Conference Prior to Departure

LD3105192290 Prague CTK in English 1650 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Prague May 31 (CTK)—Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis told foreign and Czechoslovak Journalists here today that his meeting with Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel was not a mere meeting of two politicians and that it did not concern only Czechoslovakia and Lithuania but the whole of Eastern Europe and what now takes place in the Soviet Union.

Speaking at a press conference, organized by the Civic Forum Coordinating Centre at the end of his visit, Vytautas Landsbergis said he did not believe that the summit between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush would decide the problem of independence of the Baltic states. If, however, any step forward will be made it will be important not only for them but for the whole of Europe as well, the Lithuanian supreme representative said.

Speaking about the critical situation in Lithuania, Vytautas Landsbergis said that the republic has problems mainly with supplies of power and hot water, transport and ensuring medical assistance. Artificially caused unemployment will maybe hit Lithuania, he added.

He said he did not speak with Vaclav Havel about his possible mediation between Lithuania and Mikhail Gorbachev as it is known that the Czechoslovak President made this offer and has not received any answer. He only thanked Vaclav Havel for his personal initiative.

During the talks with President Vaclav Havel and Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier the first step on the road towards the creation of a commission of experts of the two states was made. Hopefully interest centres could be opened in Prague and Vilnius.

Asked whether the election of Boris Yeltsin Russian president will influence the position of Lithuania, Vytautas Landsbergis said he hoped so as Boris Yeltzin condemned the blockade and besides, the Russian democratic movement that can influence the further path of the Soviet Union is linked with Mr Yeltsin.

Ends Visit to CSFR

LD3105192590 Prague CTK in English 1652 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Prague May 31 (CTK)—Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis ended his two-day visit to Czechoslovakia at the personal invitation of President Vaclav Havel today, emphasizing that Czechoslovakia is Lithuania's friend.

In a short interview granted to CTK before his departure, Vytautas Lansbergis expressed great satisfaction with the course and the results of the visit.

He also indicated that it is possible that he might meet Boris Yeltsin during his journey to Vilnius via Moscow.

Soviet Troop Withdrawal, Vienna Talks Viewed

LD3105140990 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 31 May 90

[Excerpts] Today marks the end of the first stage of Soviet troop withdrawal from our republic's territory on the basis of the well-known documents, which are also consistently supervized by parliament. Editor Viliam Roth prepared a commentary concerning some circumstances of the withdrawal.

[Begin recording] [Roth] [passage omitted on Vacek 30 May news conference] I will therefore recall another circumstance of the withdrawal, because it is unavoidably projected in the all-European context of creating a new military situation on the continent. I had an opportunity to ask this here in Bratislava of Valerian Mikhaylov, head of the Soviet delegation to the Vienna disarmament talks, during the visit Tuesday by a group of diplomats from Vienna.

[Mikhaylov in Russian, with superimposed translation into Slovak] It is clear that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovak territory is not directly related to the decisions that are now being discussed at the Vienna talks. Nevertheless, they will play their part when an agreement is reached on a reduction to the level which is being discussed. The fact that this process is proceeding according to schedule creates a real prerequisite that the disarmament process should go even further, including a unilateral reduction of armaments, in a direction which will result in an agreement on the date agreed at Vienna talks.

[Roth] So, this is what the head of the Soviet delegation said. In order to further specify things, I will add that Europe is expecting that the Vienna talks will be completed no later than by the end of this year, that this topic will even be discussed in Washington between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush, and that the Soviet troops withdrawal from our territory will be completed by the middle of next year. [end recording]

Changes in National Security Corps Announced

AU3105151490 Prague PRACE in Czech 29 May 90 p 3

["(bb)"-signed report: "Change of Guards at the District Administration of the National Security Corps"]

[Text] Kosice—By the end of last week, Kosice journalists were invited by city Mayor Jan Kopnicky to an interesting news conference. The principal players—Federal Deputy Interior Ministers Andrej Samel and Miroslav Kral, were there.

"We have found that the District Administration of the National Security Corps did not fulfill the orders issued by Interior Minister Richard Sacher," Major General A. Samel briefed the journalists. "We have found damaged seals and open doors and cupboards. We have provided new seals for the locks, and we have ensured surveillance. Besides the personnel changes, the circumstances of the investigation—which had been started by the new chief of the District Administration of the National Security Corps—will also be revealed."

Besides the chief of the District Administration of the National Security Corps, the chief of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy has also been recalled. They were replaced by Lieutenant Colonel Jozef Rozko in the National Security Corps and Vladimir Chlipal in the Kosice Office [for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy]. They took over their duties yesterday.

State Security Officers Reject Dismissal Notices

AU0106132590 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 31 May 90 p 1

[Statement issued by Federal Deputy Interior Minister Jan Ruml, followed by "(JAD)"-signed report: "A Statement From the Federal Ministry of the Interior on the Dismissal of State Security Officers"]

[Text] Seven hundred and seventy former State Security [StB] officers had been dismissed from service by 30 May. Of this number, 234 served in Prague and in Central Bohemia; 106 in South Bohemia; 59 in West Bohemia; 62 in North Bohemia; 22 in East Bohemia; 51 in North Moravia; 93 in South Moravia; 75 in West Slovakia; and 73 in East Slovakia. On the one hand, this involves officers whom the screening and civic commissions decided are not competent to carry out service in security units and, on the other hand, officers who had been involved in the struggle against the internal enemy. There is no use for these people in the ministry's new concept. We envisage that the dismissal issue, or the new classification of all the other former StB officers, will be resolved within the next three weeks. The decisions made by the screening and civic commissions about which officers cannot remain in the National Security Corps will be respected in all cases.

It is necessary to add to the deputy minister's statement that the dismissal of former StB officers has not proceeded smoothly everywhere. On 29 May, 38 of the 40 officers invited refused to sign the notice of dismissal order at the Prague and Central Bohemia Regional Administration. They protested against the, allegedly, insufficient grounds for their dismissal and demanded to be familiarized with the findings of the screening and civic commissions. One of the most vociferous "malcontents" was Ota Svoboda who is known for his severity both in the interventions against demonstrators last January and August and against individual activists from the civic initiatives.

If the former officers do not sign the notice of dismissal, they are still considered to have been dismissed. The order is read out aloud and the signature merely serves as a confirmation of the officer's presence. Those dismissed have an opportunity to appeal against the decision made by superior organs. This, of course, does not mean that the decision will be delayed.

Deputy Interior Minister Jan Ruml informed us by telephone that the regional administration building in Bartolomejska Street has been under guard since yesterday. In the future, dismissed officers will only invited in smaller groups to prevent outbursts of emotion.

This measure makes sense, in particular, after 30 May 1990, when approximately 80 former StB officers converged on Bartolomejska Street. In some cases they did not refrain from making personal threats against the officials who had to deal with them.

Kral Reacts to MLADY SVET Allegations

AU3105121190 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 30 May 90 p 7

[CTK and "(R)"-signed report: "It Was Only a Debate"]

[Text] In a statement delivered to CTK, Deputy Interior Minister Miroslav Kral reacted to an article published in issue No. 21 of MLADY SVET [Young World] called "A Carefully Suppressed Scandal" on state security and on conditions in the Interior Ministry. Deputy Kral states that the alleged summons issued to Lubos Beniak, chief editor of MLADY SVET, was made after information had been received in an anonymous telephone call that a sensational article about the Interior Ministry was being prepared. The meeting took place because the deputy minister wanted to be briefed by the person most competent to do so. This involved a "debate between two people who wanted to set the matter straight and to exchange information," states Deputy Kral, who continues: "The statement, 'part of the Czechoslovak press has succumbed to the disinformation campaign being carried out against the minister' was made by me; however, the phrase 'orchestrated from abroad' was inserted into it. This formulation is not mine and in no way coincides with my appraisal of the situation. (...) In my opinion, the article, for the most part, only summarizes one-sided information and, according to journalistic ethics, it was correct to give the other side the latitude to enable it to express its views."

At the end of his statement, the deputy interior minister says that he agreed to have another meeting with chief editor Beniak on 28 May 1990. However, according to information from MLADY SVET, this meeting did not take place for organizational reasons.

Sacher Visits Kosice, Briefs Journalists

LD3105224190 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Federal Minister of Justice Richard Sacher arrived in Kosice for a working visit today. Meeting journalists, he said, among other things:

[Begin Sacher recording] I would like to inform you that we find ourselves in the situation following a coup d'etat. We can call it a velvet one, but we cannot be naive. Therefore, we must have an efficient body formed to protect the Constitution and democracy. Our purpose must not be in any case to snoop on people and follow them, but we are aware that there are certain structures in our society which were dissolved and that not all our citizens support this development. It would be probably rather naive just to stand by idly. I consider the views that the government can be informed on the basis of an analyses of press articles to be very naive. Then the government could one day also learn that it is not in power any more. [end recording]

State Bank Not Financing Armed Corps, CPCZ

AU3105174790 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 29 May 90 p 6

[Report on interview with Engineer Martin Svehla, press spokesman of the Czechoslovak State Bank, by LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE correspondent Zdenek Paroulek; place and date not given: "Has the Bank Been Vetted?"; opening paragraph is LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE introduction]

[Excerpts] Disentangling the mafia nets of the former regime is a difficult task today. Diverse facts emerge, sometimes conclusive, sometimes inconclusive, sometimes distorted, sometimes not, all indicating that not everything to the last bit was cleared off the mafia nets. The Czechoslovak State Bank is something like the heart of the state which, next to the brain—the Federal Ministry of Finance—usually is the center of attention. We asked Engineer Martin Svehla, press spokesman of the Czechoslovak State Bank, for some answers.

[Paroulek] How is it possible that in the Czechoslovak State Bank, which acts as the Czechoslovak treasury and as the central bank, there operated a department financing organizations such as the Federal Ministry of Defense and the Federal Ministry of Interior, the armament industry, as well as actions of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia—among other things, the construction of the RUDE PRAVO building (the present DELTA publishing house). Is the IMF aware of this?

[Svehla] The department with the code number 611 was formed in the 1950's to provide the financing and credit for the armed corps, and for eventual rapid transfer—in case of battle readiness—to financing the Armed Forces. The administration of 611 has, however, never financed Czechoslovak armament industry. It only kept the books and credited economic establishments of the Ministries of Interior and of National Defense: construction, production, and maintenance organizations, etc. During past years, by a decision of the higher bank and government bodies, additional organizations were incorporated in the 611 administration. These organizations—for instance, Czechoslovak Uranium Industry, Omnipol foreign trade enterprise, and also the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee—appeared in the meantime in a separate part of the state plan as so-called "extraordinary parts of the state plan." This department has been replaced by a similar unit, according to law No. 130 of 15 November 1989 on Czechoslovak State Bank, because commercial banks have neither sufficient territorial domain nor sufficient number of branches. The present administration 721 closes, by decision of the chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank, the accounts of all organizations outside the immediate sphere of defense and security and transfers them to commercial banks. Thus far, 28 accounts were transferred. This includes all accounts of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The International Monetary Fund never showed any interest in this type of information. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has, however, never been an organization with a credit provided by the Czechoslovak State Bank. [passage omitted]

[Paroulek] How many nomenclature cadres of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee are still in the management of the Czechoslovak State Bank?

[Svehla] The following members of the management of the former Czechoslovak State Bank were named to the new nine-member board of management: Deputy Chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank J. Bruk, former general director of the administrative department, and General Director of the Czech main institution Z. Cincera, former director of the monetary department. Four people from the management (Potac, Krejca, Hajek, Mitro) retired, and the former deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank, M. Zamecnik, works now in the Czechoslovak State Bank as an adviser. [passage omitted]

[Paroulek] What is the former Czechoslovak State Bank management's share in the inception of the irretrievable outstanding claims in Syria, Iraq, Libya, etc.?

[Svehla] More than 80 percent of Czechoslovak overdue claims in nonsocialist countries really are concentrated in the three countries mentioned. Three-quarters of them, however, represent government claims whereby the Czechoslovak State Bank played only a marginal part. They usually were an outcome of high-level state visits and of [the communist] party dealings. The government provided these countries with credits as an extension on the due claims for the delivered Czechoslovak goods. [passage omitted]

In the 1980's, the bank managed to put through some measures protecting Czechoslovak economic interests, but it could not influence the absurd politically motivated decisions. Its only responsibility was the payment of these orders in korunas to the Czechoslovak suppliers. [passage omitted]

CF, PAV Strengthen Election Prospects

LD3005212490 Prague CTK in English 2022 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Prague May 30 (CTK)—The positions of the Civic Forum (CF) and the Public Against Violence (PAV) political movements strengthened in the election campaign, according to results of a survey conducted by the Empiric Research Centre of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences on May 18-25, made available to CTK today.

Following are the results of the survey conducted with 1,658 people from the whole of Czechoslovakia in percentage:

Parties-Coalitions	Czechoslovakia	Bohemia	Moravia	Slovakia
CF and PAV	39	49	46	25
CDU/CDM	13	8	9	24
Communists	8	6	8	9
Greens	6	6	7	5
Social Democracy	4	6	3	3

Those undecided whom to vote form 13 per cent for the whole of Czechoslovakia, 15 per cent in Bohemia, 11 per cent in [words indistinct] in Slovakia.

Preelection Opinion Polls Published

AU3105190990

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 30 May on page 2 publishes a 300-word CTK report on the results of a survey of public opinion on the election campaign conducted from 11 to 17 May by the Institute of Public Opinion Research, entitled "Before We Approach the Ballot-Boxes." Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 30 May on page 2 publishes a 500-word "c"-signed report on the results of an election poll of Slovak citizens taken by the Institute of Public Opinion Research of the Slovak Statistical Office from 13 to 21 May, entitled "Opinion Map." The first survey involved 2,004 citizens of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic [CSFR] over 18 years of age, the representative sample in the other poll consisted of 1,238 Slovaks.

The former survey indicates that only 10 percent of the CSFR population is not interested in the elections. The question of which party they will vote for was answered in April by 912 respondents as follows: 32.2 percent Civic Forum, 10.8 percent Christian and Democratic Union, 9.5 percent Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, 8.7 percent Green Party, and 8.7 percent Czechoslovak Socialist Party; while in May, 930 respondents expressed these preferences: 35.8 percent Civic Forum, 7.5 percent Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, 6.3 percent Christian and Democratic Union, and 2.7 percent Green Party.

The Slovak poll confirmed the expected consistency of the public opinion. Most of the potential voters selected the Christian Democratic Movement—21 percent. Public Against Violence followed with 17.3 percent. Communist Party of Slovakia is the choice of 14.8 percent of those surveyed. Green Party has 11.4 percent, the Democratic Party 7.0 percent, and the Slovak National Party 5.1 percent. An election victory by the Christian Democratic Movement is expected by 53 percent of those surveyed, while 23 percent believe that Public Against Violence will win. The Communist Party of Slovakia is for 49 percent of Slovaks and for 60 percent of the Bratislavans, the party for which they would not vote under any circumstances. It is followed in this negative assessment by the Romany Coalition with 17 percent of Slovaks, and by Public Against Violence with 10 percent.

The most trusted Slovak politicians are: Milan Cic 46.2 percent, Marian Calfa 41.7 percent, Alexander Dubcek 39.9 percent, Jan Carnogursky 20.3 percent, Jan Budaj 13.4 percent, Rudolf Schuster 12.6 percent, Vladimir Meciar 7.8 percent, Peter Weiss 7.2 percent, Milan Knazko 5.9 percent, and Pavol Kanis 1.4 percent, while 4.8 percent of those surveyed do not trust any politician.

People's Party Chairman Accused of Libel

AU0106123690

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 30 and 31 May publishes several items reacting to statements made by Josef Bartoncik, chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party, in an interview for the Italian press agency ANSA on 14 May. According to the ANSA version of the interview, Bartoncik spoke about "attacks by ultra-leftist forces" on the Czechoslovak People's Party and mentioned the names of Ladislav Lis and Alexander Dubcek in this context.

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 30 May on page 8 publishes a 150-word report on an "open letter" from Civic Forum deputy Ladislav Lis to Josef Bartoncik. In the letter, Lis asks Bartoncik to "furnish evidence of my alleged conspiracy" and adds that, if Bartoncik fails to do so, "I demand a public apology and reserve the right to take further action."

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 31 May on page 8 carries a 700- word unattributed item, entitled "Where Is the Truth?," which deals with the controversy around Bartoncik's 14 May statements. The item first quotes a letter sent by Bartoncik to Oldrich Jaros, head of Alexander Dubcek's Secretariat. In the letter Bartoncik claims that ANSA carried an "unauthorized version" of the interview which "linked the answers to individual questions into an inorganic whole." Bartoncik vows that in the interview he "uttered Dubcek's name without any pejorative tint," expresses "regret over the situation that has arisen," and asks Jaros "to deliver my apology to Mr. Chairman [of the Federal Assembly]."

The account of Bartoncik's letter is followed by a LIDOVE NOVINY observation that, when asked at his 17 May news conference whether he "stands by the accusations quoted by ANSA," Bartoncik replied that "he has evidence for his assertions which, however, he cannot make public." Finally, the LIDOVE NOVINY item quotes a statement which was handed over to CTK by Lucio Leante, ANSA correspondent in Prague, in response to Bartoncik's above letter. Leante declares that everything in the published interview with Josef Bartoncik "was exactly in accord with his statements" and that he, Leante, neither interpreted Bartoncik's statements nor did he "violate their tenor." Leante also mentions that when he spoke to Bartoncik after his news conference on 17 May, Bartoncik said that he had read Leante's article on the interview and "declared that he regarded it as 'accurate,' whereas the CTK summary was 'imprecise and incomplete as usual'." Leante expresses understanding for Bartoncik's agitation at the time of the interview (which was made a few days after the Austrian weekly PROFIL accused Bartoncik of having been a State Security agent) and for the subsequent regret of his statements made then. "I believe, however," he says in conclusion, "that it is not fair to shift one's own responsibility to CTK and ANSA. Besides, it is not exactly Christian."

Federal Assembly Approves Electoral Measures

AU3105134690 Prague PRACE in Czech
30 May 90 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "The Preparations Are Not Without Problems"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] From the practical point of view, the legal measure amending and supplementing law No. 47/1990 on the elections to the Federal Assembly makes it possible for the local national committee councils to determine an earlier hour, 1200 [1000 GMT], for the first day of the elections. The reason for this is that workers on Friday afternoon shifts also go to work on the Saturday morning shift so that they can have every other weekend free. The measure also clarifies Paragraph 29 Article 3 in order to ensure that voters' cards are not abused.

The Federal Assembly Presidium also discussed and approved legal measures on a state counterbalancing allowance (the impact on the population of increases to some retail prices will begin to be financially compounded in July) and on utilizing officers from the Border Guard and troops from the Interior Ministry forces to fulfill the Public Security Corp's tasks. On the other hand, a legal measure was not approved on amending some property relations affecting monastic orders and congregations (the proposal was returned for finalizing because it did not resolve all the material problems associated with property confiscated from the orders and congregations).

Republican Party Views President Havel

LD3105154790

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 0850 GMT on 31 May carries a five-minute election broadcast by the Association for the Republican Party of Czechoslovakia.

While republicans are known for their uncompromising critical attitude, their attitude to the current president is unequivocally positive, the broadcast says. "This is because this party strictly divides the work of Mr. Havel from the work of the Civic Forum. If President Havel were still heading Civic Forum, events which have been criticized, and not only of the Association for the Republic, the Republican Party of Czechoslovakia, could never happen." The broadcast goes on to praise the work of Havel in his office as president in general terms; despite his claims that he is an amateur, he has behaved as a professional in every way, it says.

The broadcast continues: "In the view of the Association for the Republic, the Republican Party of Czechoslovakia, in our country the office of the president if regrettably, to a considerable degree, of a ceremonial nature. For this reason republicans propose a considerable extension to the jurisdiction of the head of state and the setting up of a presidential system similar to that in the United States. They also propose the election of the president by a national referendum. Finally they propose Vaclav Havel as a candidate for the office of president of the next electoral period. Not because this was done by Civic Forum and Public Against Violence, not because the Association for the Republic, the Republican Party of Czechoslovakia has a popular and cheap policy, but because Mr. Havel appears as a true guarantee of democracy and the freedoms achieved by our nations. There is only one thing which the Association for the Republic, the Republican Party of Czechoslovakia regrets. The head of state should be above party politics, and for this reason it is unsuitable for Mr. Havel to express support for any party taking part in this year's elections," the broadcast concludes.

Two Czechoslovak Parties To Join EDU

AU3105112390

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 30 May on page 1 carries a 300-word "bay"-signed report entitled "Another Admission Ticket to Europe." The report deals with a news conference given by Andreas Kohl, parliamentary deputy of the Austrian People's Party and general secretary of the European Democratic Union (EDU), in Prague on 29 May. Kohl is quoted as having told the news conference that at a "festive meeting" of the EDU in Helsinki on 30-31 August this year the (Czech) Czechoslovak People's Party and the (Slovak) Christian Democratic Movement will become "full-fledged EDU members." According to Kohl, at present 28 "Christian democratic and conservative European parties" with 65 million voters are EDU members.

Civic Forum Broadcasts Election Programs

LD2905160590

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 0950 GMT on 29 May carries a 10-minute election broadcast on behalf of the Civic Forum, with ballot number 7. The broadcast opens with an interview with Mr. (Bogusak), who is a member of the Group for Independent Analysis (Skupina pro nezavislou analyzu], who talks about people's greates fears at present. Bogusak says that "at present what people fear most are increases in prices of basic goods—foodstuffs, clothing; they also worry about a possible fall in the standard of living and unemployment." He also notes the fact that "these fears have been increasing considerably since January," and gives the following examples. Concerning the issue of price increase—at present more than 80 percent of our citizens, an increase of 10 percent, fear price increases; 64 percent of citizens are worried about possible deterioration in the standard of living; and almost 40 percent, an increase of 15 percent since January, are worried about unemployment. There is a significant difference between the Czech lands and Slovakia: Slovaks' fears have increased more.

Then Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, who is a Civic Forum candidate, is interviewed about this issue. He notes that there are 15 million people in Czechoslovakia "who are able, and if they have the right environment they will be able to implement what they can." He says that he is therefore "an optimist." In reply to a question about whether there will be "rich and poor" in the future, he says that "in a normal system, there are not very rich or very poor people. Very rich and very poor people exist in a very bad system, and this is specifically the threat during our transitional period, where owing to imperfections, the necessary imperfections of the system, such extremes can arise. In a normal market economy system, there are not many rich people, because it is very hard work to stay rich!" Thus it is necessary, he notes, "to do things as well as possible in the transitional period, so that such extremes do not arise." He also notes that in the past 40 years there were great differences between "upstairs and downstairs," and they were "much more unjust than those which we may have now."

Klaus then talks about his financial policy, "the main aim of which is to prevent inflation, to preserve as much as possible a stable purchasing power for Czechoslovak currency"; thus "anti- inflationary policy is the basis of our financial policy," he stresses. "We want to transfer to a different, not only political, but also economic and social system. This system will, naturally, abolish some certainties we were used to in the past, but I think that it will abolish above all some pseudo-certainties which, in fact, were no certainties at all, or were certainties on paper only," Minister Klaus says.

"What is most important for the election results, in your opinion?" the interviewer asks, and Mr. Klaus says that "if the elections should scatter our political specturm too much—there are some 23 parties today and every party would like its share of power—each party would like to have its one minister and so on—then I cannot imagine that an action-capable government could be appointed, which would be able to implement any programs." He concludes the interview by saying that in the election "one or two parties should win the greatest share of votes in order to be able to appoint a government capable of taking action."

Christian Democratic Party News Conference

AU3105113290 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 30 May 90 p 4

[CTK report: "Christianity—Counterweight to Totalitarianism"]

[Excerpts] At a meeting with journalists in the Intercontinental Hotel in Prague yesterday, leading officials of the Christian Democratic Party [KDS] spoke about the objectives and the election program of the party. [passage omitted]

Josef Cuhra, KDS central secretary, and other members of the party leadership characterized the Christian Democratic movement in Czechoslovakia as a counterweight to totalitarianism. This is why the totalitarian regime had always persecuted it. The Christian Democracy has now appeared on the political scene with the aim to play a creative and constructive role in the Czechoslovak society. The KDS has now about 2,500 members and expects to reach a membership of around 15,000 in the future. Some of its ideas differ from those of its allies in the Christian and Democratic Union but now, in the preelection campaign, it centers on what they have in common. Asked about the prospects of the union in the forthcoming elections, J. Cuhra replied that it is realistic to expect about 20 percent of the votes. [passage omitted]

Information on Christian Democratic Movement

AU3105123090 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 23 May 90 p 3

[Vaclav Staud article from the "Coalition Partners of the Christian and Democratic Union Before the Elections" column: "More Than Half a Million Members"]

[Excerpts] In the broad spectrum of political life in Slovakia, the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] is the most dynamically developing community with the best prospects. It is a modern movement, based on the ecumenical concept of Christianity. Its aim is to create a society of comprehensively developed, mature, and free citizens, who are both spiritually and economically prepared to live in the third millennium. All programmatic aims of the movement are subordinated to the fundamental values of freedom, humanism, and justice.

At the beginning of the KDH's history, which goes back to the early seventies, there were three kinds of Christian activists. The first of them, a sort of intellectual center, was formed by the group surrounding Jan Carnogursky, LL.D. Since 1988 this group has been illegally publishing the highly popular BRATISLAVSKE LISTY [Bratislava Leaves]. The second trend was formed by several professional (physicians, lawyers) as well as purely religious associations of believers, which dealt with, among other things, the adaptation of papal encyclicals to Slovak conditions, with the in-depth study of the Holy Scriptures, etc. The third, no less important constituent part, was the Movement of Christian Families, which operated illegally for a number of years. [passage omitted]

The movement in its present form took shape last November. This happened on the basis of an appeal, prior to the signing of which all the aforementioned factions merged into a single powerful front. The task was clear: to take into one's own hands Christian and democratic interests and become involved in politics. It is because from the very beginning the movement enjoyed the open support of the present Archbishop Jan Sokol, the Slovak metropolitan, that activity from the grass roots got quickly under way. Local clubs were being founded at a rapid pace. The speed of their growth was so unexpected that very soon it enforced the formation of regional centers and of the entire movement's coordinating center in Bratislava. Only in this way was it possible to maintain contact and prepare the movement's first congress, which was held in Nitra in February. [passage omitted]

The movement's growth continues. A few days ago the number of members involved in the activities of individual clubs passed the half a million mark!

The KDH differs from all political parties primarily by its structure. It is based on individual clubs, which are formed on the territorial principle. In some parts of Slovakia (such as Orava or Kysuce) entire villages have joined the movement.

The movement has chosen as its second organizational principle, organization according to profession and special interests. Voluntary Christian Democratic unions of scientists, teachers, physicians, and other health care employees, workers, farmers, environmentalists, entrepreneurs, and, last but not least, Christian women, youth, and families have been set up and successfully operate. A union of athletes is also about to be set up. There also exist committees of experts—economists, artists, and historians—as well as a commission for social affairs which operate under the movement's highest body, the KDH Council. The Council is elected by the congress. Another constituent part of the Council is the so-called Political Committee, which implements special tasks in relation to state bodies, the public, other movements and parties, foreign countries, and the like. The Political Committee's greatest concern at present is preparation for the June elections.

The KDH congress in Nitra elected Dr. Jan Carnogursky, federal deputy premier, as KDH chairman. Engineer Vlado Horvath became general secretary. At the same time, he is also at the head of the Political Committee.

As we have already informed our readers, the KDH set up its own newspaper—SLOVENSKY DENNIK [Slovak Daily], the first newspaper of believers in Slovakia for more than 40 years. BRATISLAVSKE LISTY, previously published as a modest weekly, will be given a more representative appearance and will become a monthly. [passage omitted]

J. Carnogursky Aiming at Premier Position

AU3105143390 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 30 May 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "J. Carnogursky's Interview"]

[Excerpt] Rome—The Slovak Christian Democratic Movement will form a coalition with lay parties after the elections only if they get such positions as to be able to influence the government's policy. J. Carnogursky, leading representative of the Christian Democratic Movement and CSFR deputy premier, said this in an interview with a correspondent from the Italian press agency ANSA. He added that Christian Democrats do not want to be "a fifth wheel" in the new government, as happened after the 1946 elections. Public opinion polls show that Christian Democrats in Slovakia will win about 24.5 percent of the votes, but Carnogursky believes that—due to political union with Catholic parties in the Czech Lands—their candidates could take 40 to 50 percent of the seats. When asked whether his movement, which has no intention of acting as a political party, is claiming the position of premier, J. Carnogursky said that "according to tradition, in case there is a Czech president, then the premier is Slovak. This is a tacit agreement which should be respected." [passage omitted]

Election Broadcast by Democratic Party

LD3106180890

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 0415 GMT on 31 May broadcasts a six-minute election broadcast by the Democratic Party. The program begins with the announcer noting that this broadcast is on the subject of health and social security provision. He goes on to say that health and social security is a precondition for the harmonious life of man and must be at the center of society's attention. The Democratic Party aims to look for the optimum ways of securing the funding for its health and social security program and giving this program priority in the social system.

At this point in the program there is a song encouraging listeners to vote for the Democratic Party. The announcer then goes on to list the main points of the party's social program:

"To set a legal minimum of payments and services in all areas of social security, to which every citizen who needs them has the right.

"To adjust the level of payments according to the real purchasing power of the koruna annually.

"To pay child benefits at a higher rate to those families who look after their children well.

"To extend maternity leave before the birth, to enable a gradual return to work, and, according to the wish of the women, generally to extend such leave.

"To reduce the working hours of women by one hour a day for each underage child. To extend the annual leave of parents with school-age children.

"To take the years a woman devotes to the upbringing of children into account when calculating pension entitlement.

"To consider the sickness of a child up to 15 years of age and of an elderly parent living alone as equal to the sickness of the person who looks after them.

"To support the construction of cheap flats for young families and pensioners.

"To create the possibility of smooth and gradual retirement between the age of 55-65 for men and women.

"To create such work conditions for invalids which would enable them to have a position of equality.

"To improve the living conditions for those groups of inhabitants who have had little attention so far.

"To increase the low incomes of farmers and small-business men who are discriminated against at present for their earlier private business.

"To develop forms of territorial social care.

"To give social help to citizens in their own homes according to possibilities, or at least locally.

"To support the existence of charity centers and organizations for help to those who find themselves in extreme difficulty."

The program concludes with a song about the victory of truth, liberty and right, followed by a jingle and the party slogan

Further on Parties' Campaign Broadcasts

LD2605194890

[Editorial Report] Czechoslovak media carries three more party political broadcasts on 25 and 26 May. Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1310 GMT on 26 May carries a 20-minute election broadcast by the Civic Forum. The broadcast begins by outlining the movement's aims in the field of employment and social policy. Civic Forum supports a social policy based on state-guaranteed minimum levels of social support, responsibility of each individual for his own life, partnership between the citizen and state, and support for all forms of social care.

Civic Forum candidate Petr Miller, who is also federal minister of labor and social affairs, is interviewed. Miller says the social program for retirees is aimed at raising pensions, many of which are currently below the generally accepted poverty level of Korunas (Kcs) 1,200 per month, and scrapping the existing pension ceiling of Kcs 3,800. This would be done by introducing an earnings-related pension program with contributions made by both employer and employee.

On women and family issues, the broadcast interviews three female health service employees, who explain the long hours, low pay, and difficulty of juggling work and domestic commitments. In this context, Miller says the position of women should be underpinned by legislation enabling them to have longer maternity breaks and a child allowance of Kcs 900 per month for each child for a period of three years, "because we do not think that the system of kindergartens and creches is right - the mother should have the opportunity to spend as long as possible at home with the child." He would like to see a situation where women do not work in high-risk and hard physical jobs in heavy industry. He says that where they do so, it is often out of economic necessity, because the pay can be two to three times higher than in traditional women's occupations. However, this will probably be a very difficult problem which can not be solved in a short time, Miller says.

On unemployment, Miller says the extent would depend on the degree and progress of economic and structural changes. The ministry is already working out "methodical instructions for setting up job centers, whose staff would also include legal, psychological, sociological, and career counsellors." The country, he says, can cope with an unemployment level of two percent, which is about 150,000 people, while at the same time no one will be jobless for longer than 12 months, during which time they will receive assistance. At present there are about 6,500 people registered as looking for work, of which something more that 2,500 are receiving unemployment benefits.

Prague Domestic Service in Slovak at 0515 GMT on 26 May carries a 5-minute election broadcast by the Slovak National Party in which Zuzana Tvrda, member of the Slovak National Party Central Council and candidate for the Federal Assembly's Chamber of People, is interviewed.

Tvrda explains the reasons for her own feelings of belonging to the Slovak nation and goes on to speak about the post-November revolution situation which "proved a chance for the Slovaks to identify themselves as an independent nation and to present themselves to Europe as an independent republic in the confederation of European nations. At the same time one can watch how this right is being denied to us without any valid reason. As it is turning outd, the Slovak National Party has many supporters—it already has several thousand members and thousands of potential voters. Only secretariat has difficulties in coping with answering and processing applications, advertising material, information, and so on," she says and adds: "The nation has already found its direction. The interest in the Slovak National Party is rapidly growing not only in surveys and statistics but also in an unofficial opinion poll. The nationalists wave of the revolution has become effective. I am glad to witness this from the very beginning. The continuing enhancement of our activity is being initiated from below," she says, adding that this activity is desired by the Slovak nation.

Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak at 1605 GMT on 25 May carries a five-minute election broadcast by the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party. Jaroslav (?Volf), the party's candidate for the Slovak National Council for the Bratislava constituency and general secretary of the social Democratic Party in Slovakia, is interviewed.

He says that there has been a renaissance of the Social Democratic movement in the West and that this is not accidental; the world understands more and more that the new quality of life is unthinkable without the democratization of ownership and genuine employee participation in decisionmaking. For this reason, (?Volf) says, Social Democrats promote equality among various forms of ownership coupled with the utilization and encouragement of enterprise as the basic prerequisite of prosperity. They promote objectively functioning market relations within the framework of an open economy with convertible currency, active participation of the state in tackling structural changes, and their social consequences.

(?Volf) says the party does not regard it either as right or possible to achieve economic balance by way of undesirable restrictions. It is after all not possible to tackle problems by large scale cuts in production and uncontrolled growth of prices and unemployment; that is to the detriment of the working man. Such development only leads to increasing inflation, unbalanced economy, growing social conflicts, and, in the final analysis, to discontent and low economic performance, he says.

He believes the only realistic way forward is a program of gradual growth of the dynamism of the economy, smoothly carried out modernization, and restructuralization of production programs and technologies. Regulated privatization must be combined with a new concept of state enterprises as joint stock companies with a broad participation of shareholders, including companies' employees, and representation by the state by way of a bank. An effective and rational policy by the state with clearly defined regulatory and social functions will operate as an economic tool which protects national wealth and in the transitional period also national capital, opens up the economy in line with a positive development in the prices and monetary area, and creates and uses specific purpose funds for social security, (?Volf) suggests.

He states his party sees the country's future only in linking together economic and social prosperity. Only in this way will the country have the opportunity and right to enter the 21st Century in a dignified and self-assured manner, he says in conclusion.

European Parliament Delegation Invited to Elections

AU3105150990 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 30 May 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "An Invitation to the Elections"]

[Text] Brussels—K. Lukas, head of the CSFR permanent mission at the European Community, handed invitation letters from President V. Havel and A. Dubcek, Federal Assembly chairman, to E. Baron Cresp, European Parliament chairman. The letters extend an invitation to a European Council delegation to attend June's parliamentary elections. The European Parliament chairman accepted the invitation with satisfaction and expressed hopes that the presence of representatives of the European Parliament will contribute to the further development of mutual cooperation between the European Parliament and the CSFR's supreme legislative body.

Pithart Discusses Czech-Slovak Relations

AU3005083890 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 26 May 90 p 3

[Interview with Czech Republic Premier Petr Pithart by Marie Prokesova; place and date not given: "I Have Never Told Lies in Politics"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Prokesova] What kind of status should the Czech Government have and how powerful should it be? In my opinion, the Slovaks proceed far more vigorously....

[Pithart] Of course. The Slovaks already have their draft constitution drawn up, and they are much further ahead as far as their republic's legislation is concerned. This is absolutely understandable, as is our sluggishness. Here in Bohemia there simply does not exist the generally common concern for our Czechness or for our identity. I think it would be an exaggeration if we were to say that there is a Czech national consciousness today. Perhaps there is a kind of awareness which is now being aroused. Unfortunately, this is always when it feels threatened by or under attack from someone—Slovaks, Germans, or Moravians.

[Prokesova] You have been reproached, but the strengthening of the republic to the detriment of the federation....

[Pithart] The federative arrangement evolved by absolutely abnormal means; a unified state was divided. The center, in accordance with its own considerations, apportioned certain rights to the republics. In 1971 these were curtailed by yet another law which the public does not know much about. A new federative arrangement has to evolve by the only normal and natural way, that is, from below. The republics will draft their own constitutions which, of course, must correspond somehow; what responsibility they will leave to themselves and what responsibility they will entrust to the federation will proceed from these constitutions. The federation is a kind of agreement; there is no such thing as a federative nation, but only a Czech nation and a Slovak nation. Without forecasting future development, we will relinquish this divided situation to the next government, a situation in which it will somehow have to continue. Yes, we are holding our heads up; we got ourselves into some conflict situations with the Federal Government, situations which, of course, "complicate life." In a number of cases, we sent back draft laws which issued from the Federal Government and which meant—in our opinion—a transgression of its competence, we came up with a number of our own initiatives, and we influenced, I think considerably, the shape of economic reform. Something has remained here, to say the least, an awareness has remained that the idea of Czech statehood does not have to be just an empty word in the future.

[Prokesova] You once wrote that Slovaks are becoming estranged from Czechs. What about today?

[Pithart] I think that even now they are somewhat estranging themselves. But I am convinced that this is an estrangement which must precede real and sincere understanding. They are looking for their own identity and they must, at the same time, estrange themselves. I have never doubted that they will find it, and when they acquire the necessary self-awareness, these barbs against Czechs will lessen. Then it will be possible to emphasize what unites us. Perhaps this involves a process which Marxists would define as dialectical—I would only say that it is quite normal. [passage omitted]

Slovak Government Discusses Economic Situation

AU3105152490 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 May 90 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Unsatisfactory Economic Development"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava—At its meeting yesterday [29 May], the Slovak Republic Government analyzed economic development in Slovakia during the first quarter of 1990. The analysis showed that the results achieved did not correspond to economic possibilities, while the imbalanced tendencies from last year even increased. The implemented reformist steps have brought positive results only partially.

The main problem during the period was a deepening disproportional development in the formation and utilization of assets. Production in the principal sectors dropped on average by 2.6 percent and by 6 percent in civil engineering. Productivity dropped while average wages rose. Retail turnover rose significantly in the retail network (by 8.5 percent). These contradictory tendencies appeared in the imbalanced demand and supply on the domestic market in particular.

The government approved the Slovak Republic's 1989 closing budget, which fixes income at 91.4 billion korunas and expenditure at 92.8 billion korunas. The 1.4 billion korunas deficit will be covered from the federation's financial assets as approved by the CSFR Government resolution on the state closing budgets. [passage omitted]

Vales on Economic Reforms, Social Development

AU3005150390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 May 90 pp 1, 9

[Interview with Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales by Kamila Jaskova; place and date not given: "Unchaining the Entrepreneurial Spirit"]

[Text] [Jaskova] Not so long ago you took up the position from which you had to resign 21 years ago. At that time the possibility of some economic reform was also considered. The birth of such reform was crushed together with the whole of the development in society. Could you compare your efforts then and now.

[Vales] We would be comparing the incomparable. The similarity is only in the fact that at that time I was also involved in creating economic policy. At that time, however, there was a gap between us and a prosperous society. Today, we are overlooking an abyss. This applies to many aspects of our life. Two decades ago we could have believed that we might catch up in many respects. Today we know that it would be nonsensical to be catching up in anything. We would have no chance of succeeding.

[Jaskova] What is the strategy of today's economic policy?

[Vales] The strategy involves the transition toward a market economy, toward opening the economy—that is, realistically bridging this abyss by creating conditions for a cultured entrepreneurial spirit. A cultured entrepreneurial spirit must be a part of our social climate. We must not forget, however, that 20 years ago there was still a generation which remembered Bata. This generation had worked in enterprises where profit was not considered to be a sin.

[Jaskova] Let us hope that this entrepreneurial spirit of past generations did not fade away entirely and that the new social climate will have a catalytic effect on it....

[Vales] Certainly. In the past, only side-liners and black market traders were able to free themselves from the manacled spirit of enterprise. "Entrepreneurial spirit" of this kind is not our objective, of course. Sometimes, private enterprise is seen as something improper. If somebody wants to take a risk and to use his abilities to provide for his own welfare, then he will also help society. Just recently I had a meeting with the representatives of the Association of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs. I had the impression that they were willing to take the risk more willingly than some other enterprises. I felt that they wanted to prove that they could bear the risk, that they could manage it. They want to build their existence on private business. If somebody wants to tie his destiny to such activity then he must behave correctly. He knows that he will have customers in a year or two, and, in order to keep them and to get even more customers, he will have to have a good reputation. Whoever does not understand this will go bankrupt. I cannot be excited by 100,000 to 150,000 private entrepreneurs. I will be happy if, at least, one half of them will remain in business. They will form a core for necessary competition. This competition will not cost convertible currency and will be efficient. Entrepreneurial spirit cannot be imported, it must grow here.

[Jaskova] Do the existing enterprises have a chance to be successful in the newly established competition. How does the package of reformist measures relate to them?

[Vales] The first measure to be taken is their denationalization.

[Jaskova] What does this mean?

[Vales] This means, in principle, that enterprises will have their own basic capital and that their balance sheet will be normalized [normalizovany]. It is important that they know what they own and what the price is of what they own. This will help them to stabilize their organizational structure by selecting one of the types permitted by law. It is also important that they stabilize their management and its organs as soon as possible.

[Jaskova] You have said that the denationalization of enterprises ensues from the first group of provisions. What does the second group contain?

[Vales] The next group contains a number of provisions regarding wholesale prices. There are conditions around us which determine wholesale prices. We ignored these conditions. Our calculation of wholesale prices is completely distorted. It does not allow the enterprises to determine what is and what is not efficient and how to develop their production program. Insulation from a realistic calculation has been caused by different conditions in the sphere of convertible currency countries and CEMA countries. The current agreement with the USSR is already based on world prices. This means that the difference between "demanding" and "soft" markets has perished—this applies to exports as well as to imports.

After that a certain liberalization of wholesale prices must follow. This must be done on the condition that the retail prices will also be adjusted.

[Jaskova] You have touched upon the measures which were expected with fear....

[Vales] We are aware that this step is the most sensitive one. But this step is also the most needed one. This is not only because tourists are buying out our cheap food. It is also necessary to consider that the measures which we are going to take in order to correct the deformations in retail prices are neutral budget-wise, that is, the budget will not gain anything by them. A compensation fund will be created from which the population will be compensated for the price increase....

[Jaskova] The weakest layers of our society will be hurt the most—pensioners in particular. Can anything be done against this?

[Vales] Of course, we are not content with this. We anticipate a regular upgrading of pensions next year. This upgrading will reflect the cost of living increase.

[Jaskova] The preparation of tax reform is also frequently discussed.

[Vales] This reform is to correct the existing situation and is necessary for progress toward a market economy. In the first stage there will be equal tax obligations for all entrepreneurs, irrespective of the form of ownership. In the next stage—probably in two years or so—our tax system will have to be so adjusted as to enable integration into the European economy.

[Jaskova] How does the package of provisions handle the management of foreign currency?

[Vales] A regulated foreign currency market is anticipated which will replace the existing directions and foreign currency auctions. Everyone will have access to foreign currency, but this access will be difficult for everyone. In order to keep the foreign currency market functioning, we have to ensure the adaptation of the enterprises and entrepreneurs to the new conditions. This means that, on the one hand—in the case of importers—we will make this access harder by adopting customs regulations, and, on the other hand, we will have to prevent stoppages of production under such conditions.

The change in this sphere is conditioned by the increase in the quality and efficiency of our production, changes to the structures, etc. We will have to have more products capable of asserting themselves on demanding world markets. I believe that much can be changed under the influence of economic reform—which will enable us to quickly use the entrepreneurial abilities of a large number of management personnel, the knowledge of our designers, production and research workers, and the industrial tradition of our working collectives.

[Jaskova] Will our forces be enough then?

[Vales] I believe that our forces alone are not enough to assert the change quickly and successfully. We need not only more capital, but also more high technology and knowledge of modern management, marketing, etc. We also need cooperation in searching for our position in the market. All this we can get by widening international cooperation and by opening our economy. Besides developing tourism, we also need entrepreneurs who would come here as participants in the reconstruction of our economy.

[Jaskova] You have spoken about the need for a more open economy. This cannot be achieved without the ability to export. How are we going to heal this sore spot?

[Vales] Low export capability is our handicap. We are counting on the creation of such conditions as will make it possible for the enterprises to acquire the time and possibility to adapt themselves. Each subsidy must be documented by a specific program for increasing efficiency and this subsidy will be provided only if such a program is fulfilled.

[Jaskova] You have used the term "two years" a few times. Does it mean that the year 1992 should be a kind of significant dividing line in our economy?

[Vales] Only in the sense that positive as well as less pleasant consequences of the transformation of one system to another will appear and also the measures—which we have talked about—will begin to take effect. Our objective is a prosperous and well functioning society. This seems to be a more proper term than a market economy, which I used at the beginning our discussion. The market economy is adopted in the Philippines or Peru, but also in America or England. Such a prosperous society should be tailored to Czechoslovakia's needs. The start is important. In two years we should manage most of the skeleton of the new system.

[Jaskova] Mr. Deputy Premier, allow me one more question. Recent months have been an enormous strain on you. You are facing these problems after you had been forcibly taken away from them. How did you meet this new start?

[Vales] With a number of friends we worked on various forms of the reform of our economy. Despite the fact that this activity did not yield practical results—most of our work ended up being put in a "drawer"—we kept ourselves fit.

In the second half of last year I contacted specialists from the forecasting office at the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. I knew the principle ideas on which the reformist endeavor had been based. Irrespective of this, my taking over this function was not easy for me and I thought for a long time before a took it. I accepted the task only when I was sure that I could be useful.

[Jaskova] Thank you for the interview.

Government Said To Impede Private Enterprise

AU3005101590 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 25 May 90 p 1

["ik"-signed report: "Bureaucracy Impedes Enterprise"]

[Text] Representatives of the Association of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs in the Czech Republic, headed by the association's chairman, Rudolf Baranek, discussed the activity and problems of fledgling private entrepreneurs at a news conference in Prague yesterday [24 May].

They said that the Association of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs in the Czech Republic has almost 100,000 members at present, which constitutes the majority of the estimated 135,000 private entrepreneurs registered in the Czech Republic. The association has now spread its organizational activity into districts. It is setting up its own offices there, staffed with legal and economic consultants, who are to protect the interests of entrepreneurs and provide them with advice to prevent them from going bankrupt before they even go into business. The association has asked the Czech Government for 12 million korunas in financial aid so that it can engage in activities in support of the private sector.

Otto Frinta, head of the Association of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs' office, then briefed journalists on the content of a communique which the Coordinating Committee of the Association of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs in the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic adopted at its meeting in Bratislava on 21 May. The communique voices disapproval with the way in which Article 7 of the Law on Private Enterprise is being interpreted, stating that it is used to erect barriers to the registration of private entrepreneurial activity. The Ministry of Foreign Trade, for example, demands 14 rubber stamps from applicants for a license to engage in foreign trade activity. Their acquisition from various departments can put off the start of this activity by up to 780 days, to say nothing of the administrative fees. The original demand for a registration fee of 20,000 korunas for private businessmen, including taxi drivers, is also regarded by entrepreneurs as an act of sabotage against the development of private enterprise. They demand the establishment of a government committee for private enterprise operating under the Federal Government and the representation of private entrepreneurs in the Economic and Legislative Councils of the Federal Government. In conclusion, the communique turns to all entrepreneurial initiatives with the recommendation to support in the forthcoming elections healthy right-of-center conservative forces. The association accepts the free choice of every citizen. However, it asks entrepreneurs to consider the fact that the Christian and Democratic Union is the most reliable guarantee of private enterprise as the foundation of the state economy's recovery and that a vote for it is a vote for a return to a prosperous Europe.

Food Prices Increase; 1989 Budget Deficit

AU3005095290 Prague PRACE in Czech 25 May 90 pp 1, 2

["hj"-signed report: "The Federal Government Swallowed the Bitter Pill: Food Prices To Go Up on 9 July"]

[Text] At its session yesterday the federal government decided to eliminate state subsidies of food retail prices and to compensate the population for the impact of this measure. Immediately after the government session Ladislav Dvorak, minister in charge of the Federal Price Office, and Petr Miller, federal minister of labor and social affairs, briefed journalists on some details of the government decision.

It arose from their statements that retail prices of food in Czechoslovakia will go up on 9 July this year and that all citizens of our republic will be fully compensated for the impact of the new prices. As Minister L. Dvorak stated, this will be the largest increase in retail prices in our country since 1954 (the 1982 adjustment of retail prices was about one-half of the present one in scope). The total sum of the imminent increase in the retail prices of food represents 27 billion korunas [Kcs]. The remaining portion of the sum which the state used to spend on subsidizing food prices—Kcs 8 billion—has been retained to subsidize primary agricultural production. One of the aims of the measures is to prevent food waste, particularly the wasteful use of bread, which, given the current price level, used to occur on a large scale in our country.

Minister L. Dvorak went on to say that a highly important question discussed at yesterday's government session was that of fixing the date for the introduction of the new prices, particularly for reasons of solving the technical aspects of the problem. After a lengthy discussion, it was decided to adopt 9 July 1990 as the date for the increase in the retail prices of food. The minister in charge of the Federal Price Office went on to give the following specific examples of expected price adjustments:

The price of one kilogram of boneless hind beef will go up from Kcs46 to Kcs65; the price of one liter of homogenized milk from Kcs3.10 to Kcs4.70; the price of one kilogram of standard rye bread from Kcs2.80 to Kcs4.30; the price of one standard crescent-shaped roll from Kcs0.40 to Kcs0.50; and the price of one kilogram of fine- ground wheat flour, Extra 00 type, from Kcs4.20 to Kcs4.90. The price of ham remains unchanged.

In setting the new retail prices of food, the government considered the level of the trade margins [obchodni srazka], which are part of the retail prices. It decided that the new retail prices would include the absolute level of the trade margins. In other words, the trade margins will be adjusted percentage-wise in such a way that the set retail prices of food will not be further increased. The adjustment of the retail prices of food will affect about 30,000 different items, which means that the whole operation will require considerable efforts on the part of everyone involved.

Federal Minister P. Miller briefed journalists on compensation for the impact of the raised food prices. He stressed that citizens will be compensated in full for the entire increase in prices so that their standard of living will not be affected. Every person will be paid a special social allowance—the so-called state compensatory allowance [statni vyrovnavaci prispevek]. Its level has been deduced from the total volume of the increase in the retail prices of food and set at Kcs140 a month. According to P. Miller, this sum has been arrived at by dividing the sum total of the increase by the number of citizens of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. Given the fact that the prices will be raised on 9 July 1990 and that the compensatory allowance will be paid for the first time on 1 July 1990, the state will subsidize the compensatory allowance for the month of July with Kcs500 million directly from the state budget.

How will the state compensatory allowance be paid out? Employees will receive it together with their net wages, pensioners together with their pensions, and children in the form of raised child allowances. Housewives, private entrepreneurs, and other citizens in similar circumstances will have to apply for the compensation at the relevant national committee.

Minister Miller went on to stress that the increase in pensions by the compensatory allowance has no bearing on the previously announced increase in pensions as of 1 October 1990, about which the public has already been informed.

The two ministers then answered journalists' questions. Asked by the PRACE commentator whether the federal government took any measures to prevent possible bulk buying of food in shops prior to the price increases, Minister L. Dvorak said that the federal government has not taken any such measures because domestic trade is within the jurisdiction of the governments of the republics, which will apparently have to take a certain stand on this potential problem and do so in good time. Asked about the average increase in food prices in terms of percent, Minister Dvorak said that, overall, food prices will rise by 24.6 percent. The level of price increases for individual types of food varies depending on the level of subsidy. The price of milk and dairy products, for example, will go up 51 percent, while the price of poultry will go up only 3.3 percent. Asked why the state compensatory allowance has not been projected directly into employees' wages, Minister P. Miller said that such a form of compensation would not be a just expression of reward for work done. "I believe," he said, "that the introduction of a uniform compensatory allowance is at present the most suitable existing solution which is also workable."

An official report on yesterday's session of the federal government reveals that the government also discussed the state final account for 1989. It noted that the aggregate results of the economy cannot be considered positive as the budget economy ended in a deficit of Kcs3.5 billion. The 1989 results mean inter alia that the state owes the Czechoslovak State Bank roughly Kcs12 billion. Furthermore, the government agreed to the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic becoming a founding member of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It also approved drafts of legal measures concerning the calling up of border guards and interior ministry troops to help implement the tasks of the Public Security Corps, and concerning the settlement of property rights of religious orders and congregations.

Serious Crime in Czech Republic Doubles

AU3105160990

[Editorial Report] Several Czech dailies on 30 May publish correspondents' reports on a news conference given by Josef Petrasek, first deputy minister of the interior of the Czech Republic, and other Interior Ministry officials in Prague on 29 May. The news conference was devoted to the rise in the crime rate since the beginning of this year.

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 30 May on page 2 carries a 400- word "tma"-signed report entitled "Elections Under a Microscope; Crime Rate Up 25 Percent." According to the report, the National Security Corps has been confronted with a "sharp rise" in criminal behavior since the beginning of this year. Between the beginning of the year and the beginning of May, a total of 80,307 criminal acts and lesser offenses were committed in the Czech Republic, 25 percent more than in the same period last year. Even more serious was the increase in the number of burglaries (180 percent) and muggings (200 percent). By 27 May, 73 murders were committed in the Czech Republic (compared with 38 in the equivalent period of 1989), 62 of which have been solved.

According to Josef Petrasek, during the parliamentary elections of 8-9 June, police patrols will be reinforced, especially around polling stations and party offices. "Preventive pyrotechnical checks of exposed buildings" will be carried out. Special attention will be paid to the transport of election ballots and to the protection of members of electoral commissions.

Prague PRACE in Czech on 30 May on page 3 carries a 500-word "trg"-signed report on the above news conference. The PRACE report quotes the Ministry of Interior officials as saying that "the police corps in the Czech Republic is short over 500 men, with 300 protectors of public order missing in Prague alone." The interest of young men in service in the police force is said to be "still insufficient."

Speaking about "incidents" between skinheads and punks on the one hand and Romanies and Vietnamese citizens on the other, the Interior Ministry officials said that the situation has calmed down. The last "clash triggered by racial hatred" was reported in Prague on 3 May. This is also why the special "security operation" in North Bohemia and Prague involving the reinforcement of policemen with Interior Ministry troops has been called off. Nine skinheads are being prosecuted for "hooliganism" and an unspecified number of others for misdemeanors.

According to the PRACE report, it was also announced at the news conference that members of the Public Security Corps will be provided with identification numbers effective 1 June this year "to facilitate control by citizens and eliminate the anonymity of policemen who come into contact with the public."

A 300-word Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech report on the news conference, published on 30 May on pages 1 and 2, mentions that two new special police squads have been set up to deal with the increase in crime. One of them, called "Centrum" [Downtown], was set up in mid-May, and is composed of "criminologists and members of the police order-enforcement and traffic services," and its "interest is centered on prostitutes, criminal elements, and pickpockets in the center of the capital." Details on the second special squad are provided by a 200-word Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE report, which is published on 30 May on page 4. The report states that this "special 100-member unit" (no name is given) will be deployed "to tackle ad hoc problems." It will be equipped with "shields, helmets, and truncheons" and "will be deployed only in emergency cases, against those applying brute force (skinheads, punks)." As the report emphasizes, this unit "must not be used against citizens but is here to protect them."

New Weekly TYDEN To Appear

AU3105153290 Prague PRACE in Czech 30 May 90 p 2

["em"-signed report: "TYDEN in a Week"]

[Text] Prague— A powerful team of editors and photographers from the Club of Prague-Spring Journalists will introduce itself next week through a new weekly, TYDEN [Week]. It offers on the magazine's eight pages not only information from home and abroad, but also original commentaries, reports, polemics, notes, and naturally, in the tradition of the Prague Spring, also intelligent humor and satire. Therefore, the "Solzhenitsyn of painting" [the exiled Czech painter Kristofori] will appear as the first guest in the first issue, under the title "Kristofori—That Is a Story." Other material such as, for instance, "Ten Days Which Shook the Geophysicist," on the concerns of ecologists after the departure of the Soviet occupying forces, will be just as interesting.

GERMAN REUNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *Reportage on German reunification may also be found in the Federal Republic of Germany section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT and pertinent sections of the East Europe JPRS Report. Third country comment is published as available in the appropriate DAILY REPORT or JPRS publication.*

Former Stasi Officer on Links With PLO

AU0106095690 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 1 Jun 90 p 6

[Interview with unidentified former officer of the State Security Ministry by Manfred Schell and Werner Kalinka; place and date not given: "PLO at the Stasi College; State Security Ministry Groups in African Areas of Crisis"]

[Text] [DIE WELT] We have spoken about the activities of the State Security Service [Stasi] in the East Bloc. Was the State Security Ministry [MfS] also active anywhere else?

[Officer] First, I would like to say that our terminology concerning terrorism was different. We spoke of state terrorism, and by that we understood the United States and Israel. I cannot even say exactly when this door was opened for the first time in this ministry. Probably at the time when we ourselves needed 'Arafat; when we courted him to make us acceptable to the Arab world. Out of the simple insight that Israel is only one state there. The GDR cannot get anything out of Israel anyway. We have to put our stakes on the Arab card. In the end, the first countries that recognized us were the Arab states. It was 'Arafat, who then asked the GDR to give him certain support. There was a dual strategy, a strategy of pretending, I would say. On the one hand—and, please, believe me—things started with Honecker, who said terrorism was something bad. This was also the experience of the comrades during their party careers: Where individual terrorism started, ideology suffered. Thus: We did not identify ourselves with terrorism. In this respect clear border lines of what the GDR does not do were drawn. However, in practice the result was the following: On the basis of the big phrase "We will help you in the struggle against anti-imperialist oppression," arms deliveries started, training facilities in the GDR were made available—no, not only made available, they were opened precisely for this purpose—to train the fighters of the PLO Security Service in the GDR in reconnaissance and counterintelligence. I will stick with the wider concept of the PLO Security Service, but in the end we had the most varied partial organizations in our country. At the MfS Juridical College, there was a Department of International Relations, which was not located in the building of the Juridical College, but in a conspiratorial facility in Potsdam Bezirk. There training courses had been held since 1969-70—it started with the PLO—on the whole range of counterintelligence and reconnaissance work.

[DIE WELT] Was the decision made in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] to train PLO followers or fighters at the MfS Juridical College?

[Officer] Not only there, but in the SED Central Committee there also was the International Relations Department. Any support for so-called illegal parties was politically conducted via this department. There the political decisions were made, for instance, to accept Chilean emigrants and to have the MfS cooperate with PLO organizations or not to disturb them. All corresponding reports went to this department. At the training courses for Chilean emigrants, the MfS learned about the people in question only when the party brought these people into the country and handed them over to the MfS for training.

[DIE WELT] What was such a training course like?

[Officer] For almost five years, the Main Department 2 had trained cadres of the Chilean Socialist Party and of the communist Party every year in summer. These training courses were aimed at providing the Chileans with basic training in self-defense, self-protection, and in conspiratorial actions, but also in combat methods, for instance training in blowing-up objects.

[DIE WELT] The same goes for the PLO, too?

[Officer] The PLO training courses at the Juridical College did not need this. On the contrary, the PLO would have had to teach the MfS something about these techniques in the use of violence and explosives. These courses involved the training of experts in counterintelligence and reconnaissance.

The issue then developed further, in line with Mielke's slogan: We are everywhere in the world. Over the following years, we took over the services of some African-Arab states with "socialist orientation." It was a program involving the division of labor with the KGB, having the world was divided up a bit; who takes care by what. The GDR was primarily responsible for the (former) People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and right until the end it worked there with an operational group of sometimes almost 50 people. When you came into the official building of the Yemeni State Security Service, you thought you were at home. Everything, down to the last folder, came from us.

We did the same in Mozambique until the end. The last operational group of the Mfs there also had more than 50 people. In Ethiopia the GDR Stasi not only heaved Mengistu (state and party chief) into the saddle, but also stabilized him there, to the point of paradoxical phenomena. When once things were very bad, the MfS group was almost 200 men strong and was in the process of establishing an Ethiopian State Security Service. At that time the country had 25 km of rail tracks. Since the MfS has a Main Department 19 for railroad affairs, they persuaded the Ethiopians to establish a Department 19, too.

[DIE WELT] For 25 km of railroad tracks?

[Officer] These people simply did not understand that the Ethiopians do not need this. I think one km of railroad track would have been enough for them to do this.

Of course, the entire work also had consequences. Cadres, who had been sent to the GDR for training, went to the West shortly before finishing their studies. There was a long letter from Mengistu to his friend Erich, and Erich then ordered the Stasi to stop the escapes by all means. Thus, we established a direct flight to Addis Ababa to ensure this. Ethiopians who were suspected of wanting to defect were taken to Schoenefeld Airport by a police car and put on the plane.

The GDR Stasi was immediately on the spot with residents in many Arab and African countries. There were residents, who were not illegally there, and who did official training work—under An-Nasir in Egypt, several in Ghana and Guinea, always depending on how the regimes changed at the time. The diplomatic intelligence service—if you want to put it that way—was responsible for all residential offices established by the MfS. I have to say again that this cost the MfS an enormous amount of money. This business was a complete loss.

In any case, the final result of this excessive extension was that, in the end, no one in the MfS, except for Mielke probably, really knew how large this support was and where its limits were. In the end, several service units actually dealt with these things without knowing about each other. I like to quote the joke which we used to tell each other about the Indian maharaja who buys a bear for his son and has to hire someone to take care of the bear. Then he finds out that this man also has to have a break sometimes; so he gets a relief. Two men need a boss. A whole apparatus develops. After many years the bear dies, and, many years afterwards, the maharaja notices that he has a hole in his budget. He founds the Bear Caretaking Main Administration. He summons the boss and says: My dear friend, the bear has been dead for 10 years, and you still have the whole apparatus. The boss answers: But, Maharaja, we are such a good team, we do not need the bear. In a figurative sense this describes the socialist system.

Until February 1989 there was this mysterious Department 23. No one knew what it was. This department was the one that organized the special training of the fighters from Nicaragua at the shooting range of the PS Main Department in Berlin-Daeubitz, where fighters were not only trained like Stasi members, but also in line with the doctrine of the Sandinistas; above all for underground fighting in neighboring countries.

[DIE WELT] Were there intensive relations with the Red Army Faction?

[Officer] The Red Army Faction in the FRG or the IRA in Northern Ireland were never supported. There was this terrible fear of losing one's political reputation if caught somewhere red-handed. Among the political leadership, the contempt for Ensslin, Bader-Meinhof, and others was much greater than the inclination to start some action by supporting such screwballs. As soon as they were looking for someone here (in the FRG), at least three GDR service units checked whether the person in question might have taken refuge in the GDR. If a trace had been found, the person would not have been tolerated and the GDR would have pushed him out immediately. Fear was too great in this respect.

Files on CIA Reportedly Passed on

AU0106105290 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 1 Jun 90 p 6

[Unattributed article: "Information on CIA Passed On"]

[Text] The relationship between East Berlin and Third World countries was conflicting. On the one hand, these countries received comprehensive support; on the other hand, their embassies were the targets of State Security Ministry [MfS] activity in collating information and hiring unofficial agents.

Even "original information which we had on the CIA" was made available to underground organizations, a high-ranking officer of the former MfS reports. For instance, information on radio reconnaissance on searches for terrorists by Western security organs was played into the hands of countries and organizations. Even passport checks were unusually generous by order from the top. The decision always was "let them travel," even in cases where one or the other senior MfS official got "cold feet" at the thought "that the thing might explode and become known that those people were in Schoenefeld for 24 hours." Honecker and Axen also had to be asked, because "we did not know whether these people were couriers of illegal parties."

This generosity was also extended to the embassies of friendly countries. Even drivers from the GDR who crossed the border with the car "of the ambassador," were not subjected to checks, even though "the heavy stern" of the car would certainly have provided a reason for a check. In return, embassy buildings were "open houses for the GDR State Security Service." "We went in and out," says the officer, who does not leave any doubt about the fact that attempts were made to hire employees of the embassy as soon as there was an opportunity. The main target of State Security activities were, of course, the embassies of "the main imperialist powers," even though this was not always very successful: "Unfortunately, they were always so careful, which we regretted very much; the GDR was always accused of so many bad things, and we did not understand this at all," the officer notes ironically, pointing out that in long-term planning this insight was born in mind. "A great number of sleeping microphones" were installed in the French Culture Center, which were intended to have been used only some years in the future, because it was known that intensive checks were made during the first few years.

Eppelmann on Army Reforms, Disarmament

AU3005075090 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 26-27 May 90 p 3

["Exclusive" interview with Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann by Oliver Michalsky; place and date not given: "I Would Have Wanted a Bit More Time for Us"]

[Text] [Michalsky] First of all, Mr. Minister, I would like to know what is true about the rumors that you moved alone into a house with nine rooms in Karolinenhof, and that you do not have to pay any rent.

[Eppelmann] The only thing that is true about the story in BERLINER ZEITUNG is that I am moving to Karolinenhof. The house has six rooms, the apartment is a few square meters larger than my current one. In the past, I did not live quite as modestly as the article claimed. It was an official apartment of the parish, which I have to leave now, because my successor has to move in. The rent for my new apartment amounts to almost 500 GDR marks, which I naturally have to pay. By the way, if I were not moving in, a well-known GDR entertainer might have bought it for his daughter.

More Democracy—Fewer Soldiers

[Michalsky] Now to the topic. About one month ago you, a former construction soldier and prisoner, were conducted into the office of the disarmament and defense minister. What have you managed to achieve since then?

[Eppelmann] I have tried to continue what my predecessor, Admiral Theodor Hoffmann, started, in particular to push ahead with the military reform in the direction of more democracy and fewer soldiers. The number of soldiers has been reduced by 35,000 to 135,000. In addition, budget expenditures in the material-technical sphere have been reduced.

[Michalsky] How?

[Eppelmann] Savings were made in the purchase of combat equipment and spare parts and in the construction of new military facilities. Perhaps we will be able to increase the savings of 30 percent to about 40 percent if the Soviet interlocutors are willing to permit us to get out of those contracts that we have already concluded.

Hopefully, I have also contributed to the return of a bit of self-confidence and trust in the National People's Army [NVA] and in its future, and perhaps also to finding new motivations for the soliders, in the sense that they will continue to have tasks even if the enemy image, the "evil NATO Army," disappears. Part of the tasks are outlined by the change in name of the ministry. Disarmament cannot be implemented by decree within 24 hours. This has to be done in a way that is serious and that does not cause distrust but trust among the allies and among the NATO people, because all of this should happen so as to make peace in Europe more secure.

Crisis of Motivation Has Not Been Eliminated

[Michalsky] Has it been possible to really eliminate the crisis of motivation in the NVA, which stemmed from the time of the so-called change?

[Eppelmann] Certainly not completely. For this the problems and the questions of 135,000 people are too different. For some it has been eliminated, for others it has been partly eliminated, and for some it has not been eliminated at all.

[Michalsky] The most glaring expression of this was probably the well-known letter by three officers to the FRG Defense Ministry....

[Eppelmann] This letter was written at the end of February, at a time when similar ideas were relatively frequent in the NVA. (In this letter the officers demanded the dissolution of the NVA and the extension of the Bundeswehr to GDR territory) The mistake of these three men was that they did not turn to their own defense minister but to that of the FRG. Therefore, we had to dismiss them. But at the moment, these are not urgent questions. The best proof of this was the commanders' meeting of 2 May, which showed that the officer corps of the NVA supports the policy of the De Maiziere government and "their" minister.

[Michalsky] How long will the NVA continue to exist?

[Eppelmann] At the moment no one can answer this question, because it depends on too many factors. For the time being, I assume that the NVA should exist as long as there are two military alliances in Europe. Only when a unified security system has been established, to which all European states have access, should the NVA be permitted to cease to exist.

[Michalsky] Why?

[Eppelmann] Because we have to link equal and different interests with each other—those of the GDR citizens, those of the FRG citizens, those of the immediate neighbors, those of the other CSCE states, and in particular those of the Americans and the Soviet Union. They are not always identical.

Troops at the Borders of Europe

[Michalsky] The NVA should, therefore, not be abolished as soon as possible. Is this view not in contradiction to what you wanted to achieve as the protagonist of the peace and human rights movement at the beginning of the 1980's? Catchword "Swords into Ploughshares."

[Eppelmann] No. I would act in a unhistorical way if I repeated today what I said in February 1982. In the meantime, enormous things have occurred. Conditions today are different from those in the past. If today we had the situation of 1982, I would still say the same thing. At that time I was not of the opinion that peace in Europe can be created by eliminating the NVA within the shortest possible time. Talk to Soviet officers. In the beginning, I did not understand this: During my first visit to Moscow with Lothar de Maiziere I met with incredibly irritated officers and commanders in chief, who were irritated just because there are two terms for disarmament in German—"Abruestung" and "Entwaffnung." In Russian there is only one term! These are the kind of problems we sometimes encounter. And they suddenly no longer knew what this had to do with loyalty to the alliance. On the one hand, the promise to stick to treaties—see the government statement—and now total disarmament.... This misunderstanding made it clear that one cannot impose disarmament by decree. I would like to ask Gregor Gysi or Vera Wollenberger whether they would have said in my place as minister: "All soldiers have to go, we have to get out of all treaties, and we do not care what our neighbors think."

I think that what we are doing now—and it did not start with me but with the outstandingly good work of Admiral Hoffmann—contributes to making it possible that by the end of this century we will live on a continent which has a drastically reduced military and where stronger troops will probably only be deployed at the continental borders, because I do not assume that we will already have a world peace system by then.

[Michalsky] This week you held talks in Poland with Jaruzelski and Mazowiecki, among others. Were you able to eliminate the security policy reservations of our eastern neighbors concerning German unification?

[Eppelmann] They were very reassured to hear that the question of the Oder-Neisse border is not a topic of discussion for the De Maiziere government. The more urgent question was: "What about the treaties and contracts?"—in particular the economic contracts.

The Poles fear a further deterioration of their situation if a united Germany does not feel bound by the contracts, which were negotiated by the GDR in the past. In this place, by referring to the government statement, I made clear again: We stick to the contracts. The GDR—as long as it exists—will not unilaterally cancel contracts. If the political, economic, or military conditions change, one has to negotiate for an agreement. However, we assume that a united Germany will observe the agreements that were concluded by the GDR. The relevant passages of the State Treaty confirm this.

[Michalsky] You are an advocate of the version that a united Germany might be a political member of the NATO, but that NATO or Bundeswehr soldiers must not be stationed on GDR territory. Is that at all practicable, and does the GDR have a realistic chance to bring its view to bear on such a question? Is the GDR Government sovereign in this respect?

[Eppelmann] From the military-technical point of view it is possible, even though more expensive, if two Armies with partly different equipment are deployed on the territory of one country. However, we would have to accept this for the sake of unity and for the sake of the trust of our European neighbors.

It will depend on the domestic development, in the GDR as a whole, as to how assertive our government will be in political terms. It is important that a government can give the impression that it is supported by the people. I think that it has become clear that the De Maiziere government really understands itself to be a fair administrator of the 16 million GDR citizens. Its main goal is not doing Helmut Kohl a favor.

No Arms Exports

[Michalsky] You said that the arms imports from the Soviet Union are being cut down. What about arms exports from the GDR?

[Eppelmann] At the moment the GDR does not export any weapons at all to other countries.

[Michalsky] Disarmament is a relatively expensive thing. Where do you want to get the money for it? Might there be a halt to disarmament one day because of the costs?

[Eppelmann] Purely on the basis of calculations, this is possible. But I assume that, for the foreseeable future, we will still have a budget that is not cut down too much. If we manage this, we will redistribute the money.

[Michalsky] What does this mean?

[Eppelmann] For every modern missile which we do not have to buy, we can either scrap a tank and, at the same time, perhaps build a small enterprise or finance the early-retirement of a former officer. I would hope that the largest part of the financial means which were available to us over the past years will remain available for a certain period. However, now this money is no longer used to "increase defense capacity and combat readiness", but a considerable part of it is used for everything that involves disarmament in the broadest sense of the word.

[Michalsky] Thus, the NVA is no longer capable for war, but only for disarmament?

[Eppelmann] Yes. Furthermore, we have had to take over an enormous amount of weapons from the "beneficial" State Security Service. Experts told me: Taking into account the current technical possibilities, it would take—please, do not turn pale now—60 years until all these weapons have been destroyed and scrapped. These are enormous heaps of weapons, which also have to be guarded....

[Michalsky] What other tasks is the NVA facing now?

[Eppelmann] At the moment, we are working out concepts which show how many facilities—barracks, shooting ranges—an Army with 100,000 or 70,000 soldiers needs. We will give up large areas. They have to be cleared, particularly of ammunition. This will certainly take years.

These are tasks which are completely independent of all soldierly activities. But there are still necessary remnants of these soldierly activities: As long as the Poles, the French, the Austrians, and the Czechoslovaks also have Armies, you will not find many people who want a demilitarized Germany. At the moment, only Soviet officers want this. They say so in order to get out of the calamity they are forced into by their calculation of balance—if Germany is no longer in the Warsaw Pact it must not be in NATO either.

Just imagine Germany completely demilitarized, as the only country. We could spend billions for charitable purposes every year and all others would have to spend—to quote Honecker—billions for devilish equipment. What an economic difference would develop within two or three years!

[Michalsky] On 20 July troop units are to be renamed. Which names will disappear and which new names will be awarded?

[Eppelmann] I cannot say yet which names will disappear. 20 July is not just any day. I think that the new names will come from the resistance movement of 20 July 1944. I could also imagine that one might completely give up using the names of persons for troop units.

[Michalsky] Mr. Minister, in the past—and I quote from formerly top secret State Security information—you were described as a fanatical, irreconcilable enemy of socialism, who is driven by his sense of mission, and were, therefore, put into a certain corner. Where do you stand today?

[Eppelmann] It would be tempting to ask this question of those who classified me in this way. Looking at it realistically, I could say that—like others—I am a driven person; as a priest I worked 12 to 14 hours a day and now I work equally long as a minister and I must admit: I enjoy it.

Looking Into Others

[Michalsky] Which character qualities of a priest can one actually use as a minister?

[Eppelmann] I would like to tell you two brief anecdotes: In my first talk with Army General Lyushev, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact, I met with a very suspicious, distanced, slightly restless man. I was only the exotic person, the only civilian in this meeting, and now also a man whom he thought was the minister of disarmament [Entwaffnung] and defense. We were in Leningrad together—I wanted to see the heroes' cemetery—and when we bade farewell to each other at Leningrad Airport, he asked me whether we should say goodbye in the Russian way. This is what we did. We hugged each other. When I was in Poland this week, I also left my Polish counterpart as a friend.

I hope that over my 15 years as a priest, I have learned to understand myself and also others a bit, to see, to look into them. Perhaps I was able to do this with these two gentlemen. At least I have the feeling that I impressed them favorably. I hope that I will be able to do so in the future, too.

[Michalsky] Is that which is currently happening in Germany something like what you wanted to achieve with your involvement in the peace and human rights movement—not only in autumn 1989?

[Eppelmann] I would have wanted a bit more time for us. I also would have wanted a bit more leeway to test new things, to conduct some experiments—in the hope that the united Germany would be influenced by this new GDR to a greater degree than this will be possible now. But I have to state: 9 November has changed much. By the way, I do not help anyone—least of all myself—when I now sit down in a corner and cry. I have to try to get the optimum out of the changed conditions with all my strength.

No German Unification This Year

[Michalsky] When should the political unification of Germany be concluded, in your view?

[Eppelmann] It should not happen this year under any circumstances. I can understand the worries of parts of the FRG Government, but I am concerned that their hurry might also accelerate events which one wants to prevent with this haste. I do not know whether a quick German unification will advance good European unification. The date I want is the end of 1992; this would then also fit in very well with European unification.

[Michalsky] What will you do then?

[Eppelmann] In my mid-thirties I had a serious traffic accident and since then I have considered my life as a second life, as a gift. Since then I have tried to harmonize joy and pleasure with my tasks much more intensively. To come back to your question: What I will do then—this depends on where I see a meaningful task.

[Michalsky] It need not necessarily involve the military?

[Eppelmann] It must be a meaningful task, which is important for me. Like my current one.

Investigation of Parties' Assets Approved

LD3105164290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1555 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On 31 May, after a second reading, the majority of the People's Chamber deputies approved the decision to establish an independent commission to investigate the assets of parties and mass organizations and their administration on a trust basis, as well as the law on changing the party law. The motions were drafted by the interior and legal committee of the parliament and submitted for discussion.

A change in the draft resolution now stipulates that the independent political activity of parties and mass organizations must not be compromised. In the discussion, the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] once again underlined that it is not opposed to the investigation of assets but is against administration on a trust basis by a commission to be appointed by the premier.

Resolution on Party Assets

LD3105180390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1558 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The resolution on party assets reworked by the People's Chamber Interior Committee is as follows:

The People's Chamber gives the premier the task of forming an independent commission without delay to:

1. determine the value of the assets of all parties and mass organizations in the GDR at home and abroad by 30 June 1990, pass the results on to the People's Chamber, and publish them.
2. transfer the the following into the trusteeship of the independent commission set up by the prime minister: the assets (in particular balances of accounts, land, buildings, enterprises, equity in businesses, the proceeds of sales, and other utilization and arrangements made to the benefit of third parties) of all parties and the organizations, as well as legally defined people and mass organizations linked to them, that existed on 7 October 1989 or that have since replaced these assets. Independent political activity must not be hampered.
3. prepare a legal procedure by which the assets named in point 2 can be confiscated for public purposes.

With the coming into force of this resolution, parties and mass organizations are obliged to support the measures necessary to carry it out. Those to whose advantage arrangements have been made are also obliged to support these measures.

The report of the independent commission set up by the premier must be presented to parliament.

Committee Redrafts Party Law

LD3105193290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1605 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The law on changing the party law newly revised by the Interior Affairs Committee is as follows:

I. After Paragraph 20 the following Paragraph 20a is added:

"Paragraph 20a
"1. The premier is to appoint an independent commission to produce a report on the assets of all parties and affiliated organizations, legally defined persons, and mass organizations of the GDR at home and abroad.
"2. The parties and affiliated organizations, legally defined persons, and mass organizations are to, regardless of their obligations under Section 1, render full account to the appointed commission

"a) about net asset values that have found their way into their assets or those of a predecessor or successor organization through acquistion, expropriation, or in any other way or that have been sold, given away, or relinquished in any other way since 8 May 1945;
"b) in particular a review of assets is to be compiled on the situation existing on 7 October 1989 and the changes that have taken place since then.
"3. The obligation to render full account applies to all files and documents that have potential importance for an assessment of the assets situation, in particular to legal, economic, or other involvement in enterprises and business links, even if they have been conducted by other natural or legally defined persons, whereby an economic viewpoint is to prevail.
"4. The independent commission set up by the prime minister has the right to take evidence, to hear witnesses in accordance with the procedural regulations in the rules on criminal trials, as well as to have house searches, other searches, and confiscations carried out. All authorities, organizations, and citizens of the GDR are obliged to support the commission.
"5. The premier will approve the commission's report by 30 June 1990."

II. The following Paragraph 20b is added:

"Paragraph 20b
"1. With the coming into force of this law, the parties and organizations, legally defined persons, and mass organizations connected with them can only effect changes in their assets with the agreement of the chairman of the independent commission.
"2. In order to secure the assets of parteis or organizations, legally defined persons, and mass organizations connected with them the assets of the parties and organizations, legally defined persons, and mass organizations connected with them that existed on 7 October 1989 or that have since replaced these assets will be placed in trust.
"3. The trusteeship will be carried out by the independent commission set up by the premier."

III. The law will go into effect on 1 June 1990.

People's Chamber To Consider FRG Laws

LD0106075290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0711 GMT 1 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The 10th GDR People's Chamber session began shortly after 0900 on 1 June. The most important topic of the debate is a scope-defining law proposed by the government that, in line with the supplements on the German-German State Treaty, stipulates which legal provisions of the FRG are to be put into force in the GDR. This applies initially to 26 FRG laws or sections of such laws that are to be approved en bloc and that are before the deputies in four volumes with a total of 800 pages or so. [passage omitted]

Debates Financial Policy

LD0106103990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0906 GMT 1 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—On 1 June, representatives of all parliamentary groups recommended referring the scope-defining law to the committees and demanded a thorough discussion in those bodies. Dr. Volker Manhenke (Social Democratic Party) underlined in the debate that financial policy is currently a focal point of activity in the country. GDR enterprises must remain capable of competing in the market after 1 July. He appealed to GDR citizens to remember that those who buy domestic products and no Western products now and later are helping to safeguard jobs in the GDR. [passage omitted]

Professor Dr. Jens-Uwe Hoyer (Party for Democratic Socialism) pointed out that taking over modern capitalist economic legislation undoubtedly represents progress, but one must see the social side as well. The wealth of unfamiliar legislative material will certainly lead to social and psychological problems. [passage omitted] Hoyer said a law preventing land speculation must be included in the scope-defining law.

Meckel Meets Counterpart Genscher in Berlin

LD0106083190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0801 GMT 1 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher met his GDR counterpart, Markus Meckel, at the Foreign Ministry in Berlin on 1 June. The two ministers intend to continue current consultations on the external aspects of German unification, a prereleased press statement says.

At the start of their meeting, Meckel and Genscher are to chair the constituent session of the two ministries' joint commissions, which will coordinate the foreign policy of the two German states until unification. The commission is also supposed to clarify organizational issues facing the two foreign ministries in connection with unity.

On the occasion of his visit, Genscher will also have political talks with the acting GDR head of state Dr. Sabine Bergmann-Pohl, the parliamentary group of the Liberals, and with the chairman of the League of Free Democrats-the Liberals, Professor Dr Rainer Ortleb.

The FRG foreign minister will return home on 1 June.

Discusses Need for Stability

LD0106101390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0910 GMT 1 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In the process of German unification, peace and stability must be preserved in Europe. This stance was presented by GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel in Berlin on 1 June during consultations with his FRG counterpart, Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Meckel referred in this connection to the specific responsibility of the foreign ministers of the two German states.

The contact commission appointed today by the two foreign ministers had to solve tasks with a political and practical dimension, Meckel said. Ultimately, this concerned the future work of German embassies or cultural centers, as well as the clarification of property issues abroad.

On his first visit to the GDR Foreign Ministry, Genscher stressed that the state unification desired by the two governments must be completed in an orderly and speedy fashion. It must be a gain for all states and be an element of the unification of Europe. The close coordination of the two ministries is aimed at guaranteeing the external aspects of the establishment of German unity with a view to European peace. Genscher stressed that the CSCE summit in the fall must become the starting point for a European peace order. The two military blocs must seek a new mutual relationship. He cited disarmament as the key to this.

Genscher informed Meckel that for the first time the GDR will also be present at a European summit of the EC states in Dublin at the end of June. He agreed to this with the Irish premier.

* Minister on Unification-Related Pension Issues

90GE0118A East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 12-13 May 90 p 3

[Interview with Labor and Social Affairs Minister Dr. Regine Hildebrandt by Joachim Eckert on 11 May; place not given: "Unchanged Pensions in Face of Higher Prices Are Intolerable"—first paragraph is BERLINER ZEITUNG introduction]

[Text] Economic, monetary, and social unity is concerning the people in the GDR more than any other topic these days. BERLINER ZEITUNG is getting stacks of mail on these questions. Yesterday we spoke to Minister of Labor and Social Affairs Dr. Regine Hildebrandt (SPD) [Social Democratic Party of Germany] on some of the questions arising from these issues.

[Eckert] What is the result, if you compare the expectations you yourself set for your Ministerial post with the proposal of the State Treaty in its present form?

[Hildebrandt] I have a particular amount of difficulty with this question, because it has thus far been impossible to achieve any agreement on key points in the negotiations. Among the particularly sensitive issues are pensions for those citizens who are socially weak. According to the pension formula that is now being proposed, after 45 years under the pension insurance plan, 70 percent of the average net income will be paid, provided that contributions had been paid into the VSPI [Voluntary Supplemental Pension Insurance], and the income corresponded to the GDR national average. According to these provisions, one million of the 2.9 pensioners in the GDR would see no changes in their pensions. Actually, according to the formula, 700,000 GDR pensioners would even receive lower pensions, but there is agreement that this blow should be softened by the addition of a social supplement. Nevertheless, I am of the opinion that, given the developments one can expect to see in the cost of living, a level of income that is to remain the same for a million veterans who receive low pensions is an intolerable situation, even though we assume that further support will be forthcoming for such items as rents, other charges, and energy costs.

[Eckert] In the coalition document formulated by the government other conditions were assumed.

[Hildebrandt] We said, in agreement with the CDU [Christian Democratic Union], that pension increases of 150 to 200 marks would have to be financed from the dismantling of the subsidy system.

[Eckert] And how do things look so far with the State Treaty?

[Hildebrandt] The pension formula is being retained, with the proviso that social hardships will be offset by special legislated arrangements. These provisions will also affect students and their stipends. These needs have to be met with funds in the GDR's national budget, which certainly does not look particularly healthy at the present time. In any case, I don't think the supplements should be too skimpy. The figure of 455 marks as the minimum payment to a pensioner is under discussion. In my opinion, the minimum figure should be set at 500 marks, because basic foodstuffs and services, for example, are becoming considerably more expensive.

[Eckert] Many workers are having similar problems. What is your position with regard to the union demands that the average wage, after taxes, be increased by 50 percent in conjunction with the monetary union, and that the work week be reduced to 38 hours?

[Hildebrandt] I think they are way out of line. Under such wage pressure, even more GDR firms would collapse than would otherwise be the case. Bringing wages up to the level of the Federal Republic will take years. I am no friend of the "sense of proportion" that has been so often cited by Federal Chancellor Kohl, but it really does apply here. The fact that we have complete understanding for the concerns of many workers can be seen, among other things, in our efforts to keep excessive burdens in the guise of Social Security contributions as low as possible.

[Eckert] There are also many questions left open in regard to this complex. For example, will we have one unified National Health Insurance, as was provided for in the coalition document, or will a segmented health insurance system be implemented?

[Hildebrandt] A neutral carrier, regardless of the more precise nature of the insurance scheme is, for the time being, the only possible solution. That has its organizational reasons. In the first instance, we have to implement a division of insurance programs as to purpose—health insurance, accident insurance, pension insurance. The structure of the unemployment insurance system is another matter that must be considered. It is an impossibility at this point to attempt to introduce all the various forms of health insurance schemes with all the various modalities such a step would entail.

[Eckert] What will happen after this initial phase?

[Hildebrandt] As a matter of perspective, we want to form self-governing, regionally organized insurance carriers as public corporate entities. Whether the multimember system of insurance carriers that exists in the Federal Republic has any future at all is the question of the hour. To be sure, at some later date, we can permit the establishment of various health insurance carriers, and the entire system would function in accordance with the principles of freedom of choice and competitive pressure. That means, any citizen would have the right to join any health insurance plan, and would have to be accepted by that plan. We consider that to be the realization of the principle of joint security in accordance with which the insurance risks must be evenly distributed.

[Eckert] The final report of the Commission of Inquiry that was set in motion by the Bundestag, made some critical comments pertaining to the structure of the health insurance system in the Federal Republic.

[Hildebrandt] That is why structural reform is slated for the next legislative session of the Bundestag. We should wait until then before initiating any precipitous action.

[Eckert] It is widely rumored that the Social Security payments we shall be called upon to make will be higher than those in the Federal Republic.

[Hildebrandt] That's not true. The maximum contribution we shall be called upon to make, like the maximum contribution in the Federal Republic, will be limited to 17.9 percent for health insurance, pension insurance, accident insurance, and unemployment insurance. We want to approach this level gradually, by degrees, because otherwise, the deductions would increase immediately by two to three times the original level. It should also be kept in mind that we have a much lower limit for collecting contributions than in the Federal Republic. Without the Voluntary Supplementary Pensions, it has thus far remained at 600 marks. It is estimated to go as high as 2,100 marks for health insurance, and 2,800 marks for pension insurance initially, but even that would be considerably below the level in the Federal Republic.

[Eckert] When and under what conditions will there be unemployment insurance in the GDR.

[Hildebrandt] As of 2 July we shall have it in accordance with the criteria that apply in the Federal Republic. That is, employers and workers will each pay 2.15 percent of the insured's gross income.

[Eckert] In terms of shaping labor market policies, will there be a facility in the GDR that is analogous to the Federal Institute of Labor in the Federal Republic?

[Hildebrandt] The structure of a comparably large and powerful agency will certainly no longer be a possibility in the GDR. The Central Labor Administration in [East] Berlin performs a function similar to that of the Federal office, and the Central Labor Administration, together with our ministry, bears responsibility for labor market policies.

[Eckert] What will become of the VSPI and other supplementary provisions for the care of the elderly?

[Hildebrandt] Due to the low level of the pensions in the GDR, we are dealing with a conglomerate of various old-age pension plans, into which contributions either have, or have not, been paid. At the present time, we are sorting it all out, and as we do so, we try to adhere to the principle of "acceptable justice" in our pension provisions. Special rights that are rooted in special privileges cannot be allowed to exist any longer. It is safe to say that the VSPI system, which will now no longer be needed, will not be swept under the rug and forgotten. Anyone who paid into this plan will certainly get something extra out of it.

[Eckert] In the mail we receive from our readers, many expressed the desire to withdraw from the VSPI and demand the money they paid into it because they have no confidence in the plan's ability to provide a pension in the future.

[Hildebrandt] That just doesn't make sense, even if no credence at all is lent to the remarks I just made. According to the by-laws of the VSPI, it is possible to withdraw from the plan until the end of the calendar year, but it is impossible to demand funds. In the final analysis, those rights that have been acquired in the VSPI, such as those accruing due to longer periods of illness, have taken effect.

[Eckert] Many pensioners in [East] Berlin are worried about their July pension payments, which will be paid in June, and will be worth only 50 percent if the assets of those in question amount to 6,000 marks or more.

[Hildebrandt] That would be an insupportable injustice. For this reason, the July pension payment will be made in Western marks.

Berlin Demonstrators Protest State Treaty

LD3105163590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1554 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Several thousand GDR citizens demonstrated in Berlin's Lustgarten Park on 31 May against the State Treaty and in favor of a new GDR constitution.

Tatjana Ansbach (German Human Rights League in the GDR) said: "We have been disenfranchised by our own People's Chamber." Democracy was not a business carried out with blank checks, but should represent the interest of the people.

The demonstrators greeted with indignation the 31 May decision by the People's Chamber to no longer to allow the GDR state emblem on public buildings and institutions.

PDS Calls for Treaty Changes

LD3105142690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1133 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Party for Democratic Socialism parliamentary group deputy chairman, Dr. Dietmar Keller, has reinforced his party's position on the GDR-FRG State Treaty. On the sidelines of the 31 May People's Chamber meeting, he said: "I emphasize that we, as the opposition, are not in favor of the State Treaty in its present form. We will not be able to prevent it, but we demand a series of important changes that it is essential to make, at least to the appendices and the accompanying texts of this treaty in the interest of GDR citizens. We are thinking here in particular of questions relating to the rights of property and use, to protective measures for GDR industry and agriculture, and to social security for the weakest members of society, as well as other issues."

More Goods to USSR for More Natural Gas

LD3105143890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1310 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Before the end of this year, the GDR will export to the USSR additional goods from the consumer goods industry, mechanical engineering, and agriculture worth 1.5 billion marks. For its part, the Soviet Union will be sending more natural gas than stipulated in existing agreements. These main points are set out in a protocol signed in Berlin on 31 May on additional trade between the two countries for 1990. The agreement was signed by GDR Economic Affairs Minister Dr. Gerhard Pohl and Soviet Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev.

The two sides agreed that starting 1 January 1991, they will transfer to freely convertible currency in the conclusion of commercial contracts at real world-market prices, and in accounting and payments. Katushev said the mechanisms of accounting and the conversion of balances will be discussed by a group of experts, which will produce its first results within three months.

The additional goods will come mainly from enterprises in the light industry, food industry, chemical industry, and the radio and television sectors, Minister Pohl said. The enterprises already involved in trade with the Soviet Union will thus be able to provide additional services in the future. It is hoped that this will stabilize the situation in these sectors. The GDR Government supports these additional exports of domestically produced goods to the Soviet Union to the tune of 330 million marks. The minister said that the treaty is an important step toward the stabilization of trade relations between the traditional partners. The preceding talks also resulted in fresh impetus for the continuation of trade in 1991. The economic area of the GDR should continue to be the crossroads of East-West trade.

The two sides intend to have further negotiations on more GDR exports worth approximately 1 billion marks in return for imports from the Soviet Union.

Sweden Abolishes Visas Requirements for GDR

LD3105232590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1617 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Stockholm (ADN)—Starting 15 June, GDR citizens will no longer need a visa to enter Sweden. This was decided by the Swedish Government on 31 May. Relevant negotiations have been conducted in Berlin for some time. It was also stated in Stockholm on 31 May that it is hoped there will soon be a statement from the GDR Foreign Ministry on the reciprocal dropping of the visa requirement for Swedes entering the GDR.

Jeszensky, Mock Discuss Intensifying Relations

LD2605200290 Budapest MTI in English 1838 GMT 26 May 90

[Text] Vienna, May 26 (MTI)—The change in the Hungarian system opens up new possibilities to further boost and intensify good-neighbourly cooperation with Austria, the foreign ministers of Hungary and Austria, Geza Jeszenszky and Alois Mock, stated at a meeting held in Vienna on Saturday [27 May].

The politicians discussed their talks, which lasted for more than 90 minutes, at a press conference. They were both optimistic regarding the future of the special relation of their countries.

Mr Mock termed it of symbolic importance that the first visit abroad by the new Hungarian foreign minister was to Vienna.

The Austrian foreign minister said he was satisfied to learn the new Hungarian Government holds the Vienna-Budapest World Expo to be important, and supports this. The Expo will have major, long-term effects on the development of infrastructure in both countries, and will create a new system of cooperation relations.

Mr Mock also stressed that Austria fully supports the new Hungarian Government's efforts aimed at consolidating political democracy and at creating social market economy.

Mr Jeszenszky said Hungary wishes to, and can, utilize the Austrian experiences in the creation of a social market economy. He said there is great interest shown in Hungary for the scheduled visit of Chancellor Uranitzky.

Answering questions on the foreign policy cooperation of the two countries, Mr Mock mentioned as one example that Hungary and Austria—together with Italy, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the other members of the central European 'group of five' states—intend to submit a joint proposal at the Copenhagen Conference of the Helsinki process. Another example is that Austria supports the full-right membership of Hungary in the Council of Europe.

In answer to another question, Mr Jeszenszky set forth his view on the situation in Romania. He noted the Hungarians living there want nothing else than to safeguard their national identity. The result of the recent Romanian elections, the success of the Democratic Federation of Hungarians in Romania has proven to the world that the ethnic Hungarians in Romania are a significant internal factor, one that should be reckoned with, and whose dissatisfaction is not caused by its relations with the mother country. The Hungarians have always been ready to place relations with Romania on new bases, and this possibility, this offer continues to exist, said the Hungarian foreign minister.

Soviet Relations Considered

LD2705134790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0630 GMT 27 May 90

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by reporter Zsolt Szalay in Budapest; date not given]

[Excerpts] Jozsef Antall's government received its mandate this week in parliament. During the recess of the parliament session, Zsolt Szalay asked the foreign minister of the new cabinet, Geza Jeszenszky, about his program for developing relations with our neighbors, about Hungarian-Soviet relations, and about the forthcoming tasks. [passage omitted on Jeszenszky outlining his immediate talks, meetings with colleagues, planned visit to Austria over the weekend]

[Begin recording] [Szalay] The National Assembly had already last week adopted the bill on the protection of minorities, and likewise it figures in the government program that, since a third of Magyardom lives beyond our borders, the Hungarian state has a particular responsibility for them. I see two dangers. If the government does little, then it goes against its own principles or its own supporters. And if it does a lot, then, if you like, it resurrects the Small Entente with the neighboring countries. How do you see the way out here?

[Jeszenszky] There is a phenomenon which Hungarian society, public opinion, has not yet noticed. Whatever worrying phenomena is experienced in our neighborhood, whatever impatience, freedom means at the same time releasing the genie. But even so, it is a decisive change that the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring country can organize themselves, and have created organizations—and what is more, as the signs show in Romania, they have emerged from the elections as the second biggest party. This means that, at last, the period has ended when Hungary alone raised its voice for the rights of the Magyardom living in the neighboring state, or rather against their lack of rights. Now these minorities will have their own representation; they have their own spokesmen. So it is not our job. They will say what they want, and I think they will say it, too. We can see this already. So this is a domestic political problem for the neighboring countries. I hope that international public opinion will see it this way, and we can help in this by making it clear that it is not Hungary that wants something; it is a significant group of the citizens of the countries concerned who are making a stand with entirely justified and modest demands. Hungary offers moral support in this.

[Szalay] One more topic which perhaps concerns our immediate world is the future of the relations between the Soviet Union and Hungary. On one occasion you mentioned the Finnish example. What were you thinking of, in concrete terms? In what way could this system of relations be similar to that of Finland and the Soviet Union?

[Jeszenszky] I believe that only between partners of equal rights can there be talks of trust. There is a need for trust also in the relations of the Soviet Union and Hungary. This is what we want to bring about. By clearly indicating our objectives, the completion of independence, we have created a clear situation also for the Soviet leadership. We also say clearly that, apart from the absolute guarantee of our sovereignty, we strive for the best of relations with the Soviet Union. The Finns represent a foremost example of this point of view, that they have assured, with their clever policy, with their (? alliance)....

[Szalay] (? We know) that it is a question of a small country bordering on the Soviet Union. Many countries have good relations...

[Jeszenszky] Well, of course. It is not just that in the case of the Finns it is a country which for over 100 years was a part of the Soviet...of the Russian...the Tsarist empire, a country which during World War II was at war with the the Soviet Union, as the aggressor, and at the end of World War II had to accept defeat. From such a bad situation they were gradually able to obtain for themselves full autonomy, full independence—but they combined this with never overshooting the mark. They were clear as to the limits, that from a certain point of view the Soviet Union also has interests, security interests, which have to be recognized. Finland is also an example for us in that, with gradual steps, it retained the confidence of the great power and was able to assure for itself full self-determination.

[Szalay] Does the government of the Hungarian Republic have any foreign political concepts, program, for the contingency of a roll-back, a military takeover of power in the Soviet Union—which, even if we often deny it, cannot be excluded 100 percent?

[Jeszenszky] First and foremost, what argues against this is that it would not solve anything. This has to be weighed up also by those who might perhaps be pondering such a thing. In any case, in the Soviet Union there is not much of a tradition for this, but rather for a realistic outlook, for compliance. In any event, no matter what happens in the Soviet Union, absolute freedom of movement, and the fulfilment of sovereignty are very important for us also. An element of this is the withdrawal of Soviet troops, is it not? Another of its elements could be the cessation of the Warsaw Pact and its replacement with a system that would also reassure the Soviet Union. Here time works for us, definitely; and what works for us, too, is that more and more chains, threads, connect us to international organizations, to other states—because, in such an event, the consequences of intervention against Hungary would be more grave than if it happened in the case of an ally. [end recording]

Council of Ministers Recalls Ambassadors

LD2505164890 Budapest MTI in English 1522 GMT 25 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 25 (MTI)—At its May 24 session, the Council of Ministers took a decision on the recall of the following ambassadors:
Rezso Banyasz (Ottawa),
Ferenc Esztergalyos (New York—UN),
Gabor Gobolyos (Brussels),
Janos Hajdu (Bern),
Zoltan Juhar (Canberra),
Mihaly Kornidesz (Tirana),
Erno Lakatos (Berlin),
Janos Nagy (Vienna),
Istvan Roska (Warsaw),
Sandor Simics (Sofia),
Gabor Suto (Brazil),
Sandor Szapora (Ulaanbaatar),
Istvan Janos Varga (Geneva—UN),
and Peter Varkonyi (Washington).

While the discharge of some of these ambassadors came as a result of a previous decision, the government is just now planning to put forward proposals for the recall of the others to the interim president of the Republic.

Furthermore, a decision was taken on appointing new ambassadors to London and Paris, and transferring Jozsef Gyorke and Gabor Nagy, the current ambassadors, to the head of other missions.

The present decision—MTI was told at the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs—would certainly not affect the forthcoming annual ambassador appointments.

KGB Said Prepared for Wallenberg 'Mock Trial'

LD2605091990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0430 GMT 26 May 90

[Text] I call the listeners' attention to a report in MAGYAR NEMZET. Maria Ember's article is titled: "The Soviet Secret Police Were Preparing for a Mock Trial in the Case of the Wallenberg Murder."

To this day, the darkest secrecy surrounds the trial material fabricated for a vile cause by the Soviet secret service in 1952-53. They expected effective assistance in this task from their lackeys in Hungary. This is discussed [in the article] by one of the signatories of the minute prepared at the time.

Labor Minister Talks With EEC Official

LD2605040890 Budapest MTI in English 1618 GMT 25 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 25 (MTI)—The EEC wishes to assist Hungary in overcoming employment problems. This was said in response to MTI's question by Sandor Gyorivanyi, minister of labour, during a break in his

Friday talks with Bertie Ahern, Irish minister of Labour, current president of the EEC's Labour and Social Ministerial Council.

The Hungarian minister is shortly to travel to Brussels, where he will participate at the EC's ministerial conference. Mr Gyorivanyi will be the first Hungarian minister of labour to attend this conference.

The agenda of the Brussels ministerial conference was also discussed at the Friday meeting. Mr Gyorivanyi said Hungary hopes to receive modern teaching aids, methods and access to professional consultations.

Hungary wishes to obtain experience from the EEC countries over the practice of concluding agreements between employers and employees, including experience in labour safety and prevention of accidents.

Mr Ahern was also received by Arpad Goncz, interim president of the Republic of Hungary.

EEC Membership Seen by Decade's End

LD2705185290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 27 May 90

[Text] According to West German Chancellor Kohl, Hungary could become a full member of the EEC before the end of the decade. Helmut Kohl said this to Premier Jozsef Antall in West Berlin. He added that the FRG is ready to give financial support to Hungary, and it will participate in training Hungarian managers and officials in the new local government organizations.

The Hungarian head of government also had talks with the East German premier, and they agreed to form a coordinated stance on the Warsaw Pact. The two countries will revise all of their previous economic agreements, although, "the GDR will remain one of our important economic partners in the future, too," said Jozsef Antall. Hungary will reinforce its diplomatic representations on the territory of the two German states and will establish new consulates in several German provinces.

Speaking on upcoming events, Jozsef Antall said that he will make an official visit to Bonn in the middle of June, and soon after this he will go to Paris. Jozsef Antall went to Nagycenk this afternoon, where he is going to have talks with the deputy premiers of the Alps-Danube cooperation member countries.

Hungarian Romanians Meet With Szuros

LD2605100690 Budapest MTI in English 2010 GMT 25 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 25 (MTI)—A 33 strong delegation of the Hungarian Democratic Federation of Romania (HDFR) arrived on Friday [25 May] to Debrecen (E Hungary), at the invitation of the Hungarian Democratic Forum. Members of the delegation include activists of the HDFR and three elected MPs, who held talks with Matyas Szuros, deputy speaker of parliament, who assessed the political processes taking place in Hungary.

Speaking about the national minority issue Mr Szuros confirmed the position that it was not a revolution that had taken place in Romania last December, but a mass demonstration—with the participation of the Army—which swept away the power structure, the Ceausescu clan, but brought no real change in the structure of the political power. Concurrently a certain turnabout started, and recent elections are an important step in these changes.

According to Mr Szuros, the scope of activity for ethnic Hungarians in Romania has expanded substantially, and there are good opportunities for self-organising. Hungary provides moral and political support for Hungarians living in Romania.

Hungarian Officials on Relations With Romania

AU3005112590 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 23 May 90 p 4

[Report on interview with Jozsef Ferenczy and Sandor Csoori, members of the Hungarian Committee of the Hungarian-Romanian Intellectuals Foundation, by Katalin Decsi in Budapest on 21 May: "Hungarian-Romanian Relations—There Will Be No Democracy Without Solving the National Minority Issue"]

[Text] What can the Hungarian and Romanian intellectuals do to improve the conditions of the Hungarian minority in Romania and bilateral relations? As we have already reported, the Hungarian Committee of the Hungarian-Romanian Intellectuals Foundation held a meeting on 21 May. Our reporter interviewed Jozsef Ferenczy and Sandor Csoori after the meeting.

I Am Waiting And Hoping

[Decsi] Has any progress been registered in the Hungarian-Romanian relations in the two months that have passed since your first meeting?

[Ferenczy] It would be too early to say. We will be able to evaluate this after our meeting in Bucharest. For the time being, I am waiting and hoping that the process that started in March would continue. All the Romanian intellectuals who participated in our first meeting in Budapest reacted to the ideas of the Foundation very positively. The current invitation to Bucharest makes us hope that we will be able to register progress at this meeting.

[Decsi] Did the Romanian Government send this invitation to you personally?

[Ferenczy] Yes.

[Decsi] Did this surprise you?

[Ferenczy] No. Prior to this invitation, they attacked me, partly through the Romanian press, because they thought I was the author of a report published in a German newspaper. Although this report was not my work, it showed the reality. After the attack on me, Romanian Government circles told us to come to Bucharest as soon as possible after the elections.

[Decsi] What is your opinion about the Romanian elections?

[Ferenczy] I did not doubt that the current government would win the elections. However, I am glad to see that Hungarians will make up 10 percent of the Parliament deputies. Thus, this means new obligation for us not only to think but also to act.

Awareness Should Be Changed

[Decsi] Is it a coincidence that you met one day after the elections?

[Csoori] Yes, but we are living in historical times almost every minute, and there are one or two big events almost every week.

[Decsi] In your view, what is the reason behind the fact that, after jointly fighting in the December revolution, the Romanians and Hungarians turned against each other?

[Csoori] In my view, the reasons behind this lie deep down in their awareness and their spirit. I was in Nagyvarad [Oradea] recently and I saw that the people have a different view about us in areas close to Hungary, in areas where they can see the Hungarian Television and listen to the Hungarian Radio. In these areas, the Romanians also received an objective presentation of what the Hungarians did and how they helped during the events. The Romanians understood that the Hungarians were breathing together with them. However, those who live deeper in the country could only read the biased articles of the central Romanian press. These people ask the question: What do these Hungarians want? And they immediately think of territorial demands.

The so-called socialism wanted to eliminate the historical issues and throw the national minority problems to the winds. As long as we do not speak about these things openly, misunderstanding and suspicion will prevail.

[Decsi] What can the Romanian and Hungarian intellectuals do in order to dissipate these suspicions?

[Csoori] We must convince the people that Hungarians want rapprochement and that there is no other alternative for the Romanians either. There will be no democracy in Romania as long as the national minority issue is not solved adequately. There will only be constant uncertainty, and no calm. The Magyar Democratic Union of Romania [MDUR] came out second in the elections. Although in small numbers, their representatives will be present in Parliament. This can cause unpleasant things which a new parliament does not accept willingly. On the other hand, Europe cannot afford to avoid looking into this corner and not care about what is happening there.

Our task is to support the Romanian intellectuals who support the minorities. Obviously, we must change the awareness first, because the freedom of opinion is greater than the freedom of thought. The intellectuals can do a lot in this area.

Bishop Tokes Addresses National Assembly

LD3005134190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0811 GMT 30 May 90

[Speech by Oradea Bishop Laszlo Tokes at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed House, my Magyar brethren. In early April, at the invitation of Czechoslovak State President Vaclav Havel, I took part in an international conference in Bratislava, the guiding thought of which was morality and politics. The sponsor's indentity and the location both illuminated the topic. In Bratislava, and in our entire region, which was afflicted with communism, morality at last is gaining a justification in politics, and people can speak again, whose sole weapon against a politically amoral and oppressive system, which was armed to the hilt, was the morality of stating the truth and standing their ground. What I celebrate, primarily, in the coming about of the new Hungarian National Assembly is the spread of morality in politics. This, otherwise, is one of the most important aspects of not only the changes in Hungary, but of the entire transformation in Central-East Europe, of our countries' social-political renewal. We lived at a time when morality was banned from social and political life, when the destruction of moral and religious values was raised to the rank of state policy, and a campaign fired by class striggle took place against a people who were strong in their faith, consciousness, and morals, that is in their self-identity. the despotic oppression, which in more than one instance degenerated into genocide, almost entirely eliminated the moral dimension from its policy, and in the wake of this, from the social value-system. [passage omitted]

The national and religious minorities suffered doubly from the authorities' lack of morality. Having been freed from the threat of fascist dictatorships, it was at the cost of living through Stalinist atheism and nationalism that they gained the right merely to exist.

Europe is living through another spring. The massive demonstrations of human dignity in which hundreds of thousands of people participated, the sacrificing of blood in Timisoara and Bucharest, the social justice embodied in the parliaments of people's representation, and the rehabilitation of genuine values, ideals, and people signal the return of morality to social and political life. There is not, and cannot, be justification for a policy other than that which, according to the original sense of the word, serves the common good, that of the polis. This policy is a mission (?of provenance) and is not democratic inasmuch as with its means and on the basis of consensus, it takes into account and asserts everyone's benefit, including those of minorities, too. This policy is also universal because it endeavors to assert the common good, in the widest context possible, above countrys borders, region by region, continentally and globally. [passage omitted]

In conclusion, to turn to practical matters, from this place and perhaps in lieu of others, too, allow me to thank the Republic of Hungary and the Hungarian people for the selfless political and humanitarian assistance and support, which attested to high morality, and which you gave to a Romania, which was stepping onto the path of revolutionary renewal, and also to its sorely tried people.

I especially thank you for your moral and material support given to our Magyardom in Romania, which is many time greater in value if we take into account the epoch-long omissions and the sinful antinational conduct of the past Hungarian regime toward the minority Magyardom.

I thank you from the heart for the opportunity to speak to the esteemed audience of the Hungarian National Assembly. I feel that the honor befalling me is also addressed to my country, as well as to our Magyardom in Romania. As a representative of the Romanian Reformed Church and the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania. I continue to offer my services for Hungarian-Romanian reconciliation and for the development of good relations between our countries. I feel that the task awaits our generation, that finally we should really sort out our joint matters, and not only in a Hungarian-Romanian context, but in our entire Central-East European region, that we should resolve justly and democratically the nationality question which weighs on us as an historical curse. [passage omitted]

Editorial Assesses Romanian Election Results

AU3005135790 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 May 90 p 5

[Csaba Poor editorial: "Heritage"]

[Text] According to a foreign observer, who evaluated the Romanian elections and Romania's political situation, democracy can only be achieved through several steps, but these steps should be made as soon as possible. However, it seems that the leadership in Bucharest is not hurrying toward real democracy. Although Ceausescu's power is something of the past, his heritage continues to live. The dictatorship of methods from the Middle Ages has been replaced by tactics of the 20th century, but the goal continues to be the same: To ensure the full power of a single political organization. Obviously, it is an important fact that this political organization is no longer the much-hated Romanian Communist Party, but the National Salvation Front [NSF] that took power in December, and that the NSF is striving for absolute rule no longer in the framework of a one-party system, but precisely by making use of the desire to establish parties and the division of the opposition.

More than 80 parties were established in the short span of five months; nevertheless, a real pluralism has not emerged in Romania. Obviously, one cannot talk about equal chances for political forces when a single grouping of such colorful palette was able to obtain almost 70 percent of the votes. This grouping succeeded in doing this by presenting the opposition as an enemy in the eyes of most of the public, and by ruling the press, and thus the Front did not provide sufficient opportunity for its opponents to present themselves to the public and develop their programs, inasmuch as the parties present in the struggle for parliamentary seats did have any comprehensive and long-term plans. It seems that slogans, rather than programs were fighting each other during the election campaign in Romania.

Cheating, comedy, bad joke—opposition leaders claimed when feeling the defeat, and not without any reason. Objective observers also noticed a lot of irregularities during the elections that a real democracy cannot afford. Naturally, they are cautious and are quick in pointing out that one should not think immediately of deliberate actions, but the opposition naturally speaks of premeditated manipulations. However, only if the serious accusations are proved—it is almost certain they will not be—could one rightfully question the election procedure. Besides, experts—mainly abroad—regard the smaller or larger violations of election rules as a result of the shortcomings of a fledging democracy.

In any case, it is a fact that it would be a serious political mistake on the part of the NSF to have really engaged in well-prepared cheating, because it simply did not need to, unless it was striving to obtain not only an absolute majority in Parliament, but also the majority of senate places, thus controlling both the Parliament and the Senate without problems.

There has been no doubt about the success of the NSF. However, fewer votes would have been more trustworthy. This big victory could even become uncomfortable for the Front. Prior to the elections, those in power took only popular measures easing the inhuman severity of the Ceausescu-regime, but they did not take the first and essential steps on the road leading to the revival of the totally disrupted economy. Now, they offer a coalition, and they claim that they are ready to cooperate with anyone. Perhaps they think that if someone joins them, they will be able to hold on to their overwhelming majority, but that they will share responsibility.

However, they will hardly find partners for this. At most, some satellite parties created through the support of the NSF, parties that obtained one or two percents of the votes, might join them.

The Illiescu cabinet will hardly offer the opportunity for government coalition to the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania [MDUR] which has won second place in the elections. If, nevertheless, Illiescu and his followers offered such an opportunity to the MDUR, they would obviously count on dividing one of the largest parliamentary factions which belongs to the organization of the Hungarian minority in Romania. Hopefully, the MDUR would answer tactics with tactics of their own, and would not accept such an offer. It seems much more plausible that the MDUR will strengthen the opposition and seek an alliance with the historical parties and the environmental protectors independent of the NSF. No matter how joyful, there is also danger in this big achievement. After the events in Tirgu Mures, the fear seems to be justified that, aware of the strengthening of the MDUR, anti-Hungarian feelings could become the issue on which the various political forces could have a consensus. At the same time, the opposition parties might need the support of the more than 2 million Hungarians, because, instead of the previous division, they must now strive for cooperation to try to counterbalance the overwhelming parliamentary majority of the NSF.

IMF Delegation Arrives in Budapest

LD2705135290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 27 May 90

[Text] A delegation of the IMF has arrived in Budapest to examine the performance of the Hungarian economy in the first quarter. Whether our country can have access to the second installment on the basis of the $200 million credit agreement concluded two months ago will depend on the experts' opinion. In the agreement, Hungary undertook that the convertible balance of payments deficit will not be more than $550 million, that the budget deficit will be under 10 billion forints, that the ruble-accounted balance of payments surplus will go down to zero by the end of the year, and further, that inflation will only reach 14-15 percent.

Joint Venture With USSR for Cable TV Systems

LD2805132590 Budapest MTI in English 1224 GMT 28 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 28, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Mashpriborintorg, a Soviet foreign trade association, and Hungary's Teletechnika engineering office, want to set up a Hungarian-Soviet JV [joint venture] in Budapest by the second half of the year.

The JV—to be called Maashpriborintorg-Teletechnika, Ltd., would concentrate on setting up cable television systems that can pick up satellite broadcasts.

The Hungarian side will chip in 1.5 million forints, but the size and composition of the Soviet contribution still remains to be seen.

The JV will establish cable TV systems serving 5 to 20 homes, with the Hungarian party contributing the engineering work and product development, and the Soviet side making the products.

Production is scheduled to start by the end of the year, and will reach 600 million forints (9.2 million USD) next year.

The cable systems are to be sold in the Soviet Union in the first place, but Western sales are also planned.

Teletechnika was set up last year with a capital of 40 million forints, and intends to do 60 million forints' worth of business this year, with profits amounting to 24-28 per cent of the sales receipts.

MTI, Israeli News Agency Cooperation Accord

LD2905223690 Budapest MTI in English 1608 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 29 (MTI)—The Hungarian news agency MTI and the ITIM Israeli news agency have concluded a cooperation agreement.

Under its terms, MTI and ITIM will regularly exchange news, and assist the correspondents of the two agencies working in Hungary and Israel.

Finance Minister on Paris Talks, New Bank

LD3005110490 Budapest MTI in English 0940 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Paris, May 30 (MTI)—Hungarian Minister of Finance Ferenc Rabar has now ended his talks in Paris, and left the French capital for Budapest. In Paris, Mr Rabar signed the founding document of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. He also held bilateral talks and various meetings with representatives of the French banking world.

Discussing his talks with French Minister of Economy and Finance Pierre Beregovoy, Mr Rabar told Hungarian journalists: "The meeting was useful not only from the point of view of establishing personal contacts, but also because we have created the bases for future cooperation."

Mr Rabar also met his Polish colleague, Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz, minister of finance. "Both economies are undergoing transformation, and it was very interesting for us to hold exchanges about how this is being realized. The situation of the two countries is completely different with respect to finance. But Poland does face similar problems to Hungary in restructuring. It was interesting to hear the side-effects that accompanied the extremely radical changes Poland carried out recently, and to what extent these have been successful so far," Mr Rabar said.

The minister said his meeting with French bankers made them see more clearly the sense of coming into closer contact with the Hungarian economy. "We hope that the flow of French capital to Hungary will be easier from no on," Mr Rabar said.

The minister also met leaders of the French bank BNP. BNP intends setting up a new bank in Hungary, together with Dresdner Bank of the FRG and the Hungarian Commercial and Credit Bank.

Discusing his meeting with Jacques Attali, president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development set up on Tuesday, Mr Rabar said M. Attali had concrete proposals for him. He would like to have a Hungarian expert in the preparatory group to organize the new bank, and proposed that preparations for opening a Budapest affiliate of the bank, as well as the clarification of issues related to the legal standing of the new bank, begin immediately, so that the affiliate can become a genuine Hungarian institution.

M. Attali also requested offers for the first transactions of the new bank. He wishes to review these issues during his visit to Budapest in September. Hungary can count on receiving 600 million to 1,000 million USD [U.S. dollars] of assistance from the new bank over three to four years, if suitable proposals are made. These will mainly serve to develop the economy and implement restructuring, and be intended largely for private entrepreneurs, Mr Rabar said.

Antall, Goncz Receive GE Director

LD3005163590 Budapest MTI in English 1320 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 30 (MTI)—John F. Welch, general director of the giant General Electric of the USA—in Hungary on a visit—was received by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Interim President of the Republic Arpad Goncz on Wednesday [30 May].

Later on, he paid a visit to Budapest International Spring Fair.

On Tuesday, Mr Welch met leaders of the Hungarian-American joint venture at Tungsram, where he was briefed on the firm's technological standard and the quality of the products.

Late last year, GE bought up 51 per cent of Tungsram shares, thereby acquiring control over the firm.

Forty-nine per cent of the shares are now owned by the Hungarian Credit Bank, leaving only a few thousand in state ownership.

GE-Tungsram, set up with an equity of 6,000 million forints, is expected to considerably increase the presence of General Electric in Europe, as well as the technical and technological standard at Tungsram.

Goncz Receives U.S. Representatives Delegation

AU3105100590 Budapest MTI in English 1739 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] Budapest, 29 May (MTI)—Arpad Goncz, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, met two groups of American representatives on Tuesday [29 May] in Budapest.

One of the delegations is headed by representative William H. Gray (dem.) and Newt Gingrich, deputy minority leader. This delegation is in Hungary to acquire general information.

The other delegation is led by Martin Frost (dem.). This delegation was set up by the U.S. House of Representatives to assist the development of East European parliamentary institutions.

Mr Goncz informed the delegations about how the government coalition and the strong opposition came about. He excluded the possibility that even the mildest form of dictatorship could come about in Hungary.

Mr Goncz requested that Congress modify its evaluation of Hungary, in other words, that it no longer consider it 'a country under the supervision of international communism'. This term is offensive, and also prevents the development of economic relations.

The interim president also discussed the forms of assistance Hungary would like to receive from the United States: advanced technologies, financial, banking, management and stock market skills, and American support for talks between Hungary and the international financial institutes, mainly the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the European Reconstruction and Development Bank.

Mr Goncz also asked the United States to provide assistance in realizing the legal settlement of the situation of the national minorities and international control in the matter, and in the equal ensurance of human rights, within the framework of the Helsinki process. There are 30,000 Romanian refugees in Hungary, of who 5,000 would like to travel on to Western countries. Mr Goncz asked for assistance from the United States in this respect, too.

Mr Goncz termed as exaggerated the reports carried in the American press, which state that nationalism and anti-semitism are on the rise in Hungary. Mr Goncz said there is no reason for anxiety.

The interim president said Hungary sees its future as a member of the European Community, and it seems realistic it can become a full-right member within 3 to 10 years. Hungary has no fears regarding the unificiation of the two German states, but would hold the creation of a unified European security system to be expedient.

The Warsaw Treaty poses legal commitments for its members, thus withdrawal cannot be conceived with a unilateral decision. The Hungarian side initiates talks, and coordinates its position with the countries concerned.

With respect to handling the Hungarian debts of 20,000 million dollars, Mr Goncz said one of the most urgent, and most difficult, tasks is the privatization and closure of low-efficiency state companies.

Economic Committee Outlines Foreign Trade Plans

*LD3005165690 Budapest MTI in English
1251 GMT 30 May 90*

[Text] Budapest, May 30, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—On Wednesday morning [30 May] the Economic Committee of the Hungarian Parliament heard Janos Martonyi, state secretary designate in charge of administrative matters in the Ministry of International Economic Relations, outline his government's plans for Hungary's foreign trade.

Mr Martonyi, who previously held the post of government commissioner in charge of privatisation, said they would probably need a much smaller organisation in the new ministry than the current Trade Ministry staff in view of government plans to abolish all monopolies in Hungary and reduce to a minimum the system of licensing foreign trade operations.

He said the Hungarian Government will make every effort to get the country into the European communities as soon as possible. The first most important step towards that end is for Hungary to make as comprehensive as possible an association with the EC.

Mr Martonyi expressed the view that the current legal provisions for foreign investment in Hungary need to be revised with a view to speeding up the inflow of foreign capital.

Hungarian-Soviet relations will probably be a touchstone of economic restructuring. The two countries are supposed to switch over to rouble accounting with effect January 1 next year and economists calculate that Hungary will probably lose 1-1.5 billion USD next year on terms of trade, 720 million USD of which will be settled through the conversion into dollars of the Soviet Union's trade debt to Hungary.

The switch-over will deprive the Hungarian state budget of 54 billion forints (830 million USD) a year as a result of scrapping the system of levies on imports and subsidies on exports which worked in Hungary's favour.

Social Democrats Announce European Union Founding

*LD2505233490 Budapest MTI in English
1431 GMT 25 May 90*

[Text] Budapest, May 25 (MTI)—The delegation of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (SDPH) returned from Cairo from a two-day council session of the Socialist International [SI].

Head of the Hungarian delegation Anna Petrasovits, party president, held a briefing for journalists on Friday [25 May].

She announced the founding of the Union of Social Democratic Parties of Central and Eastern Europe during the conference.

"The participant parties have the same interests and objectives, and face similar problems," she said.

The Union will hold its first session in Budapest in early July with the attendance of the Social Democratic Parties of Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia—which have recently recovered their full membership in the SI - as well as the Latvian, Lithuanian and Polish sister parties, said Ms Petrasovits.

During their meeting, the historical Social Democratic Parties of Central And Eastern Europe will be passing a draft resolution, requesting assistance from the Socialist International in reclaiming their assets confiscated by the Communist Parties.

Thurmer Speaks at MSZMP News Conference

*LD2705210190 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1800 GMT 27 May 90*

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee held a closed meeting yesterday [26 May] to consider the place of the party in the changing world. There were also talks about questions of personnel, two Central Committee secretaries, Imre Maroti and Kalman Docze, were relieved at their own requests. Gabor Kapuvari was present at their news conference today [27 May]:

[Begin Kapuvari recording] As party chairman Gyula Thurmer explained, the Central Committee dissociated themselves from all conservative views, for example, from the one which claims that the 1988 May Party Conference was the beginning of the turn toward the right. The chairman of the party described the MSZMP, with its membership of 80,000, as the strongest party outside parliament, and said that this is appreciated increasingly by other countries as well. In the future, the MSZMP wishes to be a modern, opposition, workers's party.

This was also voiced at yesterday's celebration when a wreath was laid on the tomb of Janos Kadar in commemoration of his 78 birthday. The Central Committee said they accept the Kadar inheritance.

According to Gyula Thurmer, public life at present has a transitional character—the present government does not even represent the will of the majority of society. In the view of the Workers Party, the turn to the right has not yet resulted in complete capitalism, as they said, unfortunately. On property reforms, the view of the party is that privatization is useful, but a general and complete privatization would be damaging to the country. [end recording]

Christian Democrats Elect New Leadership

*LD2705221690 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1900 GMT 27 May 90*

[Text] The National Board of the Christian Democratic People's Party [CDPP] adopted the party's new statutes and elected a five-member presidium and an executive body consisting of ten people. Laszlo Surjan, chairman, is the head of the leading body and is helped in his work by four deputy chairmen. The National Board elected Sandor Keresztes as honorary party chairman.

KDNP Chairman Surjan on Party Leadership

LD2905074790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1805 GMT 28 May 90

[Studio interview with Laszlo Surjan, Christian Democratic People's Party chairman, by unidentified announcer on the "First-Hand Information Program"—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The National Board of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], which held a session over the weekend, implemented a complete leadership change. The new KDNP chairman is Laszlo Surjan, who is social welfare minister in the Antall government.

[Surjan] In a coalition government, party chairmen are members of the government, so this is not an extraordinary situation. To a certain extent, this also signifies for the KDNP a greater possibility for drawing attention. [passage omitted]

There is no one-person party leader. Five people have been placed at the head of the party, with equal legal status, the five-member narrow circle of the presidium. It is an internal matter, depending on the agreement of the five people, that I am called chairman and the others co-chairmen. This does not signify a difference of rank between us. It is merely a technical question that you have come to me now, and do not have to go to see five people. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Emese Ugrin, ex-general secretary has said in NEPSZABADSAG that, following the successful elections, those who want positions appear, whereas they did not play their part in the success, or in the work carried out for the success. Who was Emese Ugrin thinking of?

[Surjan] Well, here she could have been thinking of any one of us. You would have to ask her who she was thinking of. There is no doubt that those viewpoints, which justified the departure of Sandor Keresztes with his own inner conviction, were obviously not the same for Emese Ugrin. Here, when the leadership resigned, there was a democratic election, and we now face the results of this election. There were no particular power struggles in the background.

It is quite certain, however, that the self-evaluation of the party, and the evaluation of the press, those who stand on the outside, do not coincide. From the outside, this party achieved a rather good election success. More famous, well-to-do competitors came unstuck alongside it. At the same time, from the outside, all of us felt that there is a lot more in this party. For this reason, we received the election results, which others classed as a surprise and a success, with a little dissatisfaction. I believe that it is an indispensable condition of progress that an organization be dissatisfied with itself. Satisfaction never gets you anywhere.

This dissatisfaction was also manifested in the fact that we had very little success in individual constituencies. It was our scattered vote throughout the country which got our deputies in, from the national list. A Budapest-countryside opposition was also created, based, in my opinion, on hypersensitivity. Just for this reason—this is reflected also in the elections and the final results—several people from the countryside got to the forefront of the party. This, on the one hand, is very good, for this country does not just consist of Budapest. Now we can also say, slightly jokingly, or not even so, that we are the party of the countryside, or wish to be so. So, the real flow of information between the party organs in the countryside and the center can begin, in both directions. This, of course, will cause technical problems, which I hope we can overcome.

Antall Resigns as Head of HDF Parliament Group

LD3005134490 Budapest MTI in English 1028 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 30 (MTI)—At the session of the Hungarian parliament which began on Wednesday [30 May], acting speaker Gyorgy Szabad announced that Jozsef Antall had resigned from his post as head of the Hungarian Democratic Forum's Parliamentary Group in view of his appointment as prime minister.

Imre Konya becomes the new head of the HDF Parliamentary group.

Regarding parliament's agenda for Wednesday, MPs will discuss amending the legal decree relating to liquidation proceedings, the proposal on amending and supplementing the land law, a motion calling for suspension of implementation of certain decrees of the law on agricultural cooperatives and land, a proposal demanding a ban on selling off state property formerly owned by the churches, and finally a motion requiring the supervision of the national child and youth foundation.

Should MPs fail to complete discussions on these matters today, parliament will continue its work on Thursday, and will begin the new session the same day only after finishing these points on the agenda.

The main point of the bill aimed at amending the decree of legal force on liquidation proceedings is that such proceedings be launched only in the case of state companies which are actually bankrupt: small and medium-sized companies should be given a chance to find a solution. In this interest, initiatives to get economic units to fulfil their payment obligations should not be left out of consideration when determining insolvency.

The session approved the bill after one contribution in favour. Essentially, there was no debate.

Discussions over the bills related to land and real estate then began.

National Assembly Session Continues 31 May

LD3105094990 Budapest MTI in English 0909 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 31 (MTI)—The parliamentary session continued in Budapest on Thursday [31 May] with a general debate on the proposed amendment to the land law.

Today's agenda also includes a proposal for revising the National Children's and Youth Foundation, modification of the law on the parliamentary representation of national and linguistic minorities, and starting a general debate on the constitutional amendment.

Under a house committee decision, plenary sessions will be held, from June 4, on Mondays and Tuesdays from 10.30 a.m. to 6 p.m.

Tuesday will be a day for interpellations and questions.

The committee sessions will be held, if needs be, on Wednesdays and Thursdays so as not to coincide with the plenary meetings.

On Fridays, MPs will be carrying out their responsibilities outside parliament.

Horvath Makes Interior Ministry Appointments

LD2605001590 Budapest MTI in English 1600 GMT 25 May 90

["Ministry of Interior To be a Civilian Portfolio"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 25 (MTI)—In the future the Hungarian Ministry of Interior will be an organ for organising public service and its principles. This was reported by Balazs Horvath, minister of interior who was speaking at a national meeting of the leaders, held in the ministry, on Friday [25 May].

Mr Horvath announced that he requested Imre Verebely, former deputy minister, to take the office of state secretary for public administration, and Dr Pal Kara to be one of the deputy state secretaries.

The person of the political state secretary is not yet known. In the future the leader of the National Police-office shall be a civilian person, Dr Gyozo Szabo, who until now was president of Vas County Court. Brigadier General Dr Andraas Turos will be his deputy, who was until now director of the National Police-office.

Mr Horvath expressed his thanks for the services of former State Secretary Zoltan Gal, also in view of the decisive role played by the Ministry of Interior in the change of system, and the significant merits it had in maintaining peace and order during the period of transition.

State Secretary in Culture Ministry Resigns

LD3105154190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] One of the state secretaries in the new government has resigned. Istvan Meszaros had been delegated by the Christian Democratic People's Party to the position of state secretary in the Culture and Public Education Ministry. The politician, scarcely a week after his appointment, announced his intention in writing to the premier. MAI NAP [Today] reports this. The newspaper is informed that in all certainty, electrical engineer Peter Juhasz will be the new state secretary of culture and public education, but the names of Miklos Lukats and Gyorgy Giczy have also been mentioned.

Peasant Party Threatens To Leave Coalition

LD3105222790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] The Polish Peasant Party [PSL] has published its position on personnel policy, adopted by the chairmen of voivodship administrations at a conference held today [31 May]. It says, among other things:

Reports from throughout the country reveal that consultations over candidates for management posts in the state administration take place almost exclusively with the Citizens' Committees. When candidates for management posts are being selected, PSL representatives are passed over, although they are suitably qualified. We confirm, the statement notes, that these actions, as well as the generally noted reluctance on the part of the Citizens' Committees and Solidarity regional administrations to cooperate with the PSL, place the authorities of the PSL under powerful pressure to leave the coalition. This pressure has increased further as a result of the public support for the party, confirmed in the self-government elections. We trust that in respect of these matters the government will speedily adopt a decisive position, which would restore the conditions for maintaining the coalition.

Review of Party Candidates Fielded for Elections

LD2605165390 Warsaw PAP in English 1552 GMT 26 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 26—Over a thousand various organizations, parties and coalitions have fielded their candidates in local elections to take place on Sunday [27 May].

Informal citizens' groups were the most active, forwarding some 50 percent of the registered candidates, followed by citizens' committees.

Parties and political blocs fielded slightly more than 15 percent of the candidates, of whom most represent the PSL—Polish Peasant Party, followed by the KPN—Confederation for an Independent Poland, Christian parties and the SDRP—Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland.

The most typical coalitions are: alliances of the PSL with the Christian-National Union, the SP—Labour Party, the SD—Democratic Party, the Pax Association and the Greens Party, alliances of the SDRP with the Voivodship Alliance of Trade Unions, the ZSMP—Union of Socialist Polish Youth, the ZSP—Polish Students Union, the ZLP—Union of Polish Writers and Women's Organizations, and alliances of the right-wing bloc composed of the KPN, the UNIA Polityki Realnej (Union of Realpolitik), and the Christian-National Union.

Low Turnout in Local Elections Assessed

AU0106115690 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 28 May 90 p 1

[Piotr Pacewicz commentary: "Only 42.1 Percent Voted"]

[Text] Basing itself on the many available public opinion poll figures, GAZETA WYBORCZA predicted a 55 percent voting turnout, give or take 3 percent. Others were even talking of a figure nearer 60 percent. The low turnout signifies an erosion of belief in the democratic process and one's own sense of participation in this process.

Throughout Europe, the turnout for local elections is almost always lower than it is for parliamentary or presidential elections, although on average, the figure does not fall below 50 percent. On the contrary, it tends to increase with the growth of true local self-government. In France, voting figures for local elections jumped to over 70 percent during the 1980's after local authorities secured increased financial provisions. Poland does not have such a track record and, as we have just witnessed, mere words cannot be a substitute for it.

These local elections were interesting from the point of view that they were being considered as a dry-run for free parliamentary elections. However, our embryonic political parties showed they were incapable of mounting any challenge to the citizens committees and they failed to arouse political passions. Thus, in cities where there were many such competing groups the result was that fewer people went to the polling stations than in the townships.

It is impossible to deny that the events of the past few weeks dampened the enthusiasm to vote. We know that the decision to vote was an expression of faith in the Polish transition to democracy. First, the political confusion within the "Solidarity" camp and then the despondency aroused by the rail strike, could have exerted an influence on the lower than expected turnout.

The first free elections have shown that democracy will not appear as if by magic simply because the restraints that were put on it in the past have been lifted.

Mazowiecki Answers Questions at Wroclaw Rally

LD2505222490 Warsaw PAP in English 2215 GMT 25 May 90

[Text] Wroclaw, May 25: Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki participated in a pre-election rally here today [25 May].

The rally was attended by representatives of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarnosc of Lower Silesia and Opole Voivodship (southwestern Poland), representatives of the Solidarnosc Citizen's Committee, candidates for councillors in the elections to self-government.

Following Mazowiecki's address the participants in the rally had numerous questions to the premier. Many of them referred to the railwaymen's strike in Slupsk.

Mazowiecki stated that the restructuring programme of the PKP Polish State Railway, being prepared by the Ministry of Transport, fully took into consideration the postulates of the railway employees forwarded by the railwaymen's section of the NSZZ Solidarnosc.

One of the participants in the rally asked the premier to evaluate his last years meeting with FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Krzyzowa. Mazoiwiecki said that the assessment of that meeting could only be very positive as at that time Chancellor Kohl expressed a genuine will of reconciliation with the Poles by signing a declaration which in the economic aspect was very beneficial for Poland. The declaration guarantees remittal of a part of credit.

Mazowiecki also highly assessed his recent talks in Poland with FRG President Richard Von Weizsaekcer.

Asked how to assess Poland's role in the unification of Europe, the Premier recalled that Poland had recently forwarded a postulate on the creation of a Council of European Cooperation.

"We will return to that postulate in a couple of days during a visit to Paris: Such a Council would be very beneficial for a harmonious cooperation of the European states. I think that the Council of European Cooperation would be created as a result of the 2nd Helsinki Conference this fall," Mazowiecki said.

The participants in the rally approved by acclamation the test of the statement of the Wroclaw Solidarnosc Citizens Committee and Regional Board of the NSZZ Solidarnosc of lower Silesia in which they expressed their concern over attempts at straining tensions and giving political character to employees disputes.

Katowice Voivode Tadeusz Wnuk Resigns

LD2605050190 Warsaw PAP in English 1840 GMT 25 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 25—The prime minister accepted the resignation of Katowice voivode and relieved Tadeusz Wnuk of his duties, thanking him for his many year work as the vovide of Katowice.

The prime minister appointed Wojciech Czech acting Katowice Voivode.

Walesa's Presidential Ambitions Viewed

AU3005075590 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 26-27 May 90 pp 1,6,7

[Ernest Skalski article: "A President Now?"]

[Excerpts] A few days ago it seemed that the political calendar for the coming 12 months had largely been decided; namely, early parliamentary elections in Spring 1991 and a new constitution which, among other things, provided for presidential elections. This was the time scale and the way forward that was agreed by the second congress of "Solidarity," which remains the largest organized political force and, although it is often critical of the government, is the bedrock and the guarantor of the present political order. At the congress nobody opposed this calendar, nor have we seen any dramatic developments since the congress ended a month ago. Despite this, Senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski, editor-in-chief of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC and organizer of the Center Grouping, has put forward the suggestion that Lech Walesa ought to be elected to the presidency by the present Sejm and Senate this very fall. This flies in the face of what was agreed at the congress, a congress at which Lech Walesa was again appointed chairman of the trade union.

In next year's presidential elections, necessitated by changes to the constitution, Walesa would be the strongest candidate. His election would require the accord of the leading groups and people in what is broadly understood as the "Solidarity" movement. Such an accord is possible, although there would be arguments and subsequent compromises that would paper over many splits. This is the rule in a normal political system.

If this was to happen according to the accepted time scale, the dignity of the highest office of state, as well as the people who occupy it, would not be compromised. It would be an additional building brick in the process of building democracy. Kaczynski's proposition, however, would have opposite effects.

For all those who support the idea of a presidency that is truly representative (this includes the "Solidarity" congress which accepted the possibility of Walesa's candidature), even a freely elected parliament is not sufficiently representative to chose a president. The nation should elect its president directly. The supporters of bringing presidential elections forward (not long ago they wanted to bring forward parliamentary elections, because the current parliament is not representative), now want to give this unrepresentative parliament the task of choosing Walesa as the new president. [passage omitted]

It is not very flattering to Walesa or the office of president when Kaczynski states that there is no serious rival to Walesa and that Mazowiecki's candidature would be a disaster. Was it not Walesa himself who recommended Mazowiecki for the premiership after having looked at Geremek and Kuron at the same time? [passage omitted]

Kaczynski questions the accuracy of the opinion poll popularity ratings, which show Mazowiecki as more popular than Walesa, but Kaczynski has nothing more to go on other than his intuition. This is typical wishful thinking and does nothing to enhance the dignity of the political forces that he represents in public.

Counting on Jaruzelski's earlier withdrawal is also wishful thinking and done probably along the lines: It is only a couple of months, what harm will it do Jaruzelski? If the office of president is to be taken seriously, the manner of departure of its incumbents cannot be of total insignificance to the public, nor to its present incumbent. Jaruzelski does not enjoy the support of the majority of the population, but there are many people (34 percent of those polled in May) who want to see him stay until 1995; namely, until his term of office expires. This may be a sufficient incentive for Jaruzelski to remain as president until the adoption of the new constitution. [passage omitted]

A political upheaval is understandable when it is a matter of changing a system, radically altering a political vision, or toppling a ruling party. It seems that nothing of the sort is intended here. Walesa and those who rapidly want to make him president, have stressed that their differences with the government are of a tactical nature only. The main direction is correct, the steps would be similar, but generally they would implement things more thoroughly, radically, and with greater speed.

The Center Grouping has distanced itself from the two extreme wings; namely, from the irresponsible troublemakers of the left, and from the fanatical intolerance of the right. Thus, the nature of the difference of opinion within one's own circle would not suggest the need for extreme measures. On the other hand, it is known that internal conflicts of close orientations and people tend to be the most bitter. Apart from this, the extreme wings of the left and right, although they may be vociferous (otherwise nobody would notice them), are weak and cannot pose any threat. The danger would come from a possible split in the main current of the former opposition and now the ruling political force. Even personnel changes would not cause problems. A democratic choice between Walesa and Mazowiecki would not necessarily bring any political devastation in its aftermath. The devastation could, however, come from a sharp internal struggle within the broad "Solidarity" movement, where both individuals found themselves on opposing sides. [passage omitted]

What do the words "more thoroughly, radically, and with greater speed" mean in practice? On the economic front, the most important sphere at the moment, the Center Grouping, according to its leader, does not have any other alternative to the program drawn up by Balcerowicz. Other members of the grouping support his program. In such a situation surely the motto must be: Do not get in the way. Do not get in the way of a government whose policies you either support or where you have no viable alternatives. A vote of no confidence in the government, which a rapid political upheaval at the top would imply, could have disastrous effects on this policy. [passage omitted]

The other element of the slogan is acceleration of changes that will lead to the desired pluralism. It is a fact that, even with the existence of some 100 political parties, there is still "Solidarity" domination, although it is not a monopoly. This is not because the government persecutes its opponents, but because these parties do not yet enjoy society's support. In a large measure it is a result of their own past errors. This fragmented, but much needed political opposition is in the minority, and if we are to have democracy, one cannot simply alter this fact by the use of political changeovers at the top. Similarly, one cannot direct society to become more politically active. All these things have to mature slowly in democratic conditions. A rapid activation of the masses and sharp divisions are phenomena that belong to revolutionary times. Who would want such a revolution, for what reasons, and aimed against whom? [passage omitted]

Some people will no doubt be irritated by this, but it is not possible to remain silent in the face of the fact that even a mere whisper of radical political change before the elections set for next year caused a cooling of the West's attitude to Walesa and a drop in confidence in Poland. Former slogans that a disposal of Polish assets had to be prevented at all costs were not taken seriously by the West, because influential circles in Poland did not subscribe to such views. However, everything that is linked to Walesa is taken very seriously indeed by the world, and even though Walesa continues to encourage foreign investment in Poland, his efforts will be to no avail if the West comes to the conclusion that he is destabilizing the situation in Poland. And the conclusion of the West is that this is precisely what he has begun to do. [passage omitted]

In the eyes of the world, Walesa, the Nobel Peace Prize winner, is symbolic of a democratic Poland. Walesa, in a non-violent way, brought about the collapse of the communist system in Poland and contributed to its downfall throughout Europe. Thus, when the world hears him declaring "war" against his own government, the effect is a rapid smearing of the picture that people have of Poland. It also causes a news sensation. If several hours later Walesa is at pains to explain that this "war" is not really war, this fact is of little interest to anybody. One can rightly condemn the mass media for the way they work, but this is how it is, and a responsible politician has to take this into consideration. [passage omitted]

In this way, Walesa, who for so long acted as an integrating factor in society, is now beginning to divide it. He seems to detect that the framework of "Solidarity" may no longer be large enough for him. It cannot therefore be a good thing if the Center Grouping, a grouping that is composed of only a few groups and a collection of individuals among whom only Jan Olszewski and Jaroslaw Kaczynski have any political significance, becomes the vehicle to express his line of thinking.

Walesa has always had the gift of acute social intuition and the ability to detect people's feelings and expectations, and there is nothing to suggest that his gift has weakened. In Poland there is an increase of frustration brought about by the present situation, even if the causes of this situation come from the past. [passage omitted]

The government and the official institutions cannot cope with these frustrations and are unable to establish contact with the populace, which is increasingly showing signs that it does not want to understand. This threatens us with the well-known scenario of term goals, opposed to the everyday reality. Walesa is able to establish such contact. [passage omitted]

Right or wrong, and regardless of any loss of personal popularity he may be suffering, he remains for the foreseeable future the most important person in Poland. Not only because of his historical role in destroying communism, but also as the architect of the present political arrangement, in which he still retains a leading role.

He is not, however, an absolute leader assisted by advisers. He has to act in a team, cooperate with it, sometimes even taking precedence over it. It may well be that the most appropriate role for him will be the office of presidency, an arbitrator and fighter who has the ability to reply to the grievances of a large part of the population. There is, however, no need to abolish the present order, an order that looks as if it will be our most promising for the next few years. Even after the next elections are held.

Walesa Telephone Conference With Rail Workers

LD3105231490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] [Announcer] A telephone conference between Lech Walesa and employees of our railways from throughout Poland took place at the headquarters of the Northern Regional Directorate of the State Railways in Gdansk. Andrzej Trojanowski reports from Gdansk:

[Trojanowski] Fortunately, consultations took place not with the aid of a normal telephone network, because the quality of such connections is well known, but through special railway telephone lines. The questions were understandable, the answers probably also so:

[Begin recording] [Walesa] Central Region, Warsaw, please.

[Unidentified speaker] My first basic question to the chairman is connected with yesterday's government statement, which makes the possibility more remote—at least that is the way this is received—of the speedy commencement of talks on the subject of the demands. [Word indistinct] there are no strikes for nearly a week, after all, there is also no date for the talks. I do not know whether it will all once again become dissipated, and people will begin to talk once again about the railmen only when half of Poland has come to a standstill.

[Walesa] Honestly, this government will not persecute anyone. This government will fulfil all the conditions it can fulfil, within the bounds of mathematics, within the bounds of logic, within the limits covered by the reforms. If it does not fulfil them, it cannot call itself our government. And the fact that someone, somewhere, is stretching the meaning of words for their own ambition, well, gentlemen, it is people who are playing this game. I heard Minister Kuron who said: No, it is not suspended; yes, it is ended. Well, gentlemen, we have fought and we will fight. We are serious people. The railmen are serious and will fight for their interests. The government has to understand this, as does Minister Kuron. [end recording]

Defense Minister Siwicki on Military Restructuring

AU2805093190 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ in Polish 21 May 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with National Defense Minister General Florian Siwicki by Andrzej Jezewski; place and date not given: "Restructuring Also Means Unpopular Decisions"]

[Text] [Jezewski] As we start this conversation, I cannot stop myself from thinking that, to put it tactfully, it does not take much for feelings of satisfaction to turn into mixed feelings. This would appear to be the case with restructuring, which was conceived of as a symbol of change and as a way of producing a modern Army, but is now coming in for criticism. There are many indications that there is great concern about it among professional troops. The terms that crop up most often in connection with restructuring are: the loss of a posting, transfers to other bases, and learning a new occupation. Apart from that, one sometimes hears it said that our Armed Forces are becoming progressively weaker. Minister, is this what was expected?

[Siwicki] We made it clear from the very beginning that restructuring would be no bed of roses. On the contrary, we acknowledged that it would be a very difficult, a demanding but necessary undertaking, the effects of which would gradually impact on all areas of the military. Restructuring does introduce a lot of transitional elements into army life, and so it also entails uncertainty. We are shedding old military structures that were suited to different times and needs, and, above all, we are making serious changes. This means that I personally and the heads of the National Defense Ministry also have to make unpopular decisions, for which we do not expect to win any applause. However, we have to go through this and see these changes through to the end. This is because there is no possibility of and no need—for both internal and external reasons—to maintain the Army in its present form. We want to have a smaller Army and we are doing that, but we also want to have a modern Army. However, that is a goal that we will only be able to fully achieve later, once the country can allocate more resources for the acquisition of weapons than at present.

The personnel's concern about their future and that of their families is not something that is confined to the military. The changes that are taking place in the military are an integral part of the changes that are taking place in the state as a whole and are placing many other occupational groups in a similar position.

[Jezewski] However, the military is a special, far more demanding organization. That is why it bears a much greater responsibility for the future of its personnel. It is not just an ethical, but also a legal issue.

[Siwicki] That is why there are legal regulations which apply to personnel in those units that are affected by restructuring. Those affected and their commanders should be well acquainted with these regulations. The upshot of the regulations is that no one can end up in the street from one day to the next. There is, to give just one example, the completely original institution of transition rosters, which provide time and resources for retraining and thinking things over. Only if all efforts to find another place in the military—and alternative posts are proposed to everyone who has not reached retirement age—fail and none of the alternative posts that are proposed are accepted, or a firm desire to leave the military for other reasons is expressed will someone be transferred to the reserve.

[Jezewski] The basic idea is undoubtedly good. However, in reality it is not all plain sailing. You know perfectly well what a posting to a different base means, especially today. There is no housing, and that is that. Then there are the material and emotional costs. There are no jobs for spouses, and it means starting a new life all over again.... Has anyone at all agreed to such a move?

[Siwicki] I am fully aware of the difficulties, problems, and hard choices that are involved. I myself changed bases on several occasions. However, today the cost of a move is greater than it was in the past. Today, we are dealing with an exceptional situation. Yet despite these present, complicated circumstances, about 2,000 professional soldiers have decided to move to another base in order to carry on serving. That is every fourth person whose posting has been changed as a result of current restructuring moves.

[Jezewski] However, it is felt that young, low-ranking personnel, who would be expected to advance to higher ranks in the future, are being sacrificed for the sake of restructuring. On the other hand, the central institutions and higher posts are serving as, I quote, "a repository for proven personnel."

[Siwicki] I simply do not accept that view, because it is, as usual, an exaggeration and inaccurate. Of those professional soldiers under the age of thirty-five who have left the military, one can only see a connection with restructuring in every tenth case. We have to realize that the reasons why young personnel are asking to be discharged, which is something that we regret very much, are more complex than they might appear. There are economic, prestige factors involved....

[Jezewski] ... and the opportunities for advancement are being blocked....

[Siwicki] ...Because, you wanted to say, the "central institutions" are a personnel repository. That is another opinion that I cannot agree with. As a rule, when military units, in which young personnel are serving are disbanded, they are disbanded in their entirety. However, commands are reduced in size, merged, or reorganized. This is what creates the impression that we are sparing those who hold higher ranks. For example, the merging of the Air Force and the National Air Defense Forces commands resulted in the shedding of 217 posts for professional soldiers, mainly older officers, and of 68 civilian military employees. The reorganization of the Polish Armed Forces Main Educational Board into the Polish Armed Forces Education Department resulted in a reduction of 86 posts. As a whole, the personnel streamlining of central institutions has resulted in the loss of 390 persons this year and a further 200 persons will be shed by the end of 1991.

It is envisaged that about 2,300 professional soldiers will either transfer to the reserve or retire, having completed a certain number of years' service, before the end of this year. They are mainly colonels and lieutenant-colonels. By the very nature of things, this creates new advancement opportunities for younger personnel. Thirty-eight generals will also go into retirement.

[Jezewski] Let us set things straight. What has the overall effect of restructuring on personnel been?

[Siwicki] There were 16,932 professional soldiers serving in the military units that have been affected by restructuring to date. New military postings have been found for 70 percent of them. Thirty percent of the professional soldiers, who have been discharged, have gone over into the reserve, and twelve percent have been placed on so-called transition rosters. However, this last group currently includes about 4,000 career soldiers. This is not too good a situation, because there is still a shortage of career soldiers in tactical formations, especially of lower-ranking commanding officers.

[Jezewski] However, one expects the situation to change rapidly. Restructuring is still underway, but the main weight of it is shifting from combat units to non-combat military units and central institutions. Can one expect a rapid increase in the number of excess personnel?

[Siwicki] Reduced opportunities for making use of excess personnel can really be expected. About 3,000 additional persons will join the transition rosters of about 4,000 career soldiers before the end of the year. We are giving very serious thought to what should be done. The situation is compounded by the fact that a significant section of this group of professional soldiers does not agree to being transferred to a different base, but would agree to taking even the lowest-ranking post in their current place of residence.

[Jezewski] The situation also varies from corps to corps. Education officers are an example.

[Siwicki] That is true. We envisage a surplus of about 1,500 persons in this area before the end of the year; about 80 percent of them are older officers. Only 800 of them have exceeded the age limit for the rank that they hold. At the same time, almost all have them have expressed a desire to carry on serving in lower-ranking posts. Present regulations provide no basis for their dismissal, but we would not want to apply such solutions if they did exist.

[Jezewski] What will happen to them?

[Siwicki] It is necessary to create, possibly for a transitional period, new posts, especially for new personnel so that their skills can be employed directly in work with soldiers. In addition, younger officers—there are about 200 such persons—will be transferred to specialist corps depending on the officers schools that they have completed.

[Jezewski] The training of a pilot is very expensive. It is not an ordinary occupation and requires enthusiasm, health, and courage. Yet the news about pilots is bad. The pilots do not have enough aircraft!

[Siwicki] It is a very painful problem. It stems from the need to speed up the process of withdrawing old aircraft from service. Four to six years ago, we could not have predicted how the situation would develop, but even at that time we radically reduced the number of pilots being trained. It means that there are about 100 pilots on transition rosters. This represents an important group of highly trained specialists. So, what are we doing? We are transferring a certain number of pilots who have reached a certain age, but are still allowed to fly under our regulations to (ground staff) command and technical posts. The vacancies that arise in this way will be filled by young officers. I think that many more military pilots could be successfully employed in the civilian sector. That would be economical and useful. There is one more truth that we will have to bear in mind: It is highly probable that we will have fewer rather than more aircraft in the foreseeable future.

[Jezewski] A smaller, but more modern Army is, in very general terms, the goal of the restructuring program. However, one hears it said again and again that what we are seeing is a normal and, what is more, mechanical cutback operation at the expense of the combat and most valuable part of the Army.

[Siwicki] I know that that is being said: These views are voiced solely by those who are personally affected by reductions in, or the disbanding of their units, and are not acquainted with the restructuring of the Army as a whole. However, the truth is that while the phasing out of military equipment is very noticeable, the military is acquiring new weapons in very limited quantities, and that leaves personnel dissatisfied. What can I say to that criticism? "One has to cut one's coat according to one's cloth."

[Jezewski] There is no ill will behind these comments. However, what conclusion should, for example, an officer whose regiment has been disbanded arrive at?

[Siwicki] I do not detect any ill will in these views; they are just rather one-sided. I would like you to consider whether it makes any sense to maintain, for example, an air force unit that has obsolete equipment at a time when profound doctrinal changes are taking place that will make it possible for another unit equipped with modern technology to perform the functions that it performed? That is just one example. So, in assessing restructuring, we should take account of what the changes entail in overall terms.

[Jezewski] I would suggest that we just focus on certain aspects of the restructuring program. To what extent will it impact on the modernization of our Armed Forces?

[Siwicki] Gladly. As old equipment is being withdrawn from use and new technology in, unfortunately, small quantities are being introduced, certain indicators are improving. For example, in the case of tanks, new hardware as a percentage of total hardware will rise from 31 to 70 percent; in the case of armored personnel carriers and other armored vehicles, it will rise from 37 to 73 percent; and from 61 to 70 percent in the case of antiaircraft missile systems. The principle of fewer, but of better quality is particularly striking in these cases.

[Jezewski] However, this does not mean that old equipment is being completely phased out.

[Siwicki] You are right. The situation is not one that is confined to the Polish Armed Forces. A similar thing is happening in many other states, where old and new types of equipment are being used alongside each other. Specialist publications report that M-47 tanks have been used in Belgium since 1951. The Leopard-1 has been in use in the FRG, Holland, and Belgium since 1964. The FRG and Holland have been using the M-113 armored personnel carrier since 1963, whereas the British Army has been using the FV 432 personnel carrier since 1963. This is possible, because of the same kind of modernization that we are carrying out. Our modernization has, for example, affected the T-55 tank, the 122-millimeter howitzer, and certain types of antiaircraft systems.

Of course, I am not saying that we will find ourselves at the forefront of modernity as a result of restructuring. It is difficult to match big powers and particularly wealthy countries in this field. However, in a comparison of basic parameters for the classic instruments of warfare such as tanks, artillery, and anti-tank weapons, one can say that in terms of modernity the Polish Armed Forces are of an average European standard. I would like to point out that older generation technology should not be ignored for two reasons: First, it is frequently modernized, which results in a clear improvement in its specifications, and second, a well-trained soldier can make optimal use of it.

To sum up: We are not seeking to become leaders in the weapons field. We will endeavor to maintain our Army—in line with what is economically possible and in accordance with those needs dictated by the international situation—on the level necessary to satisfy state defense sufficiency.

Glemp Addresses Piekary Slaskie Pilgrims

LD2705211990 Warsap PAP in English 2020 GMT 27 May 90

[Text] Katowice, May 27—Thousands of worshippers from Poland and abroad arrived in Piekary Slaskie, southern Poland, today [27 May] to participate in the annual pilgrimage of men and male youth at the sanctuary of the Holy Virgin of Piekary.

Pope John Paul II, in a letter addressed to the pilgrims, said in part: After years of sad experiences, our country is entering a new stage of history, a stage full of hope. The present day of Poland and her future is bestowed in your conscience and on your toil-worn shoulders.

Primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp delivered a homily during a mass celebrated by metropolitan of Krakow, Cardinal Franciszek Macharski.

The motherland will be such as we will built it today, said the primate and stressed: "We are forgetting that transformations in our country took place in a peaceful way, without neighbours' intervention, and surprisingly quickly."

Further into the homily, the primate referred to the current situation in Poland saying in part: "Thanking God for his support for the changes taking place, we know that God will not do everything for us, it is said that we are a pluralistic nation, and that is good, but should not there be limitations to this multiplicity. A crowd of individuals and egoists cannot form a society. (...) The large number of groups which are not capable of formulating a responsible programme and harmonizing it with activities of others, arouses reservations.

Radio Solidarity Establishes Ties With BBC

LD2805200490 Warsaw PAP in English 1658 GMT 28 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 28—Radio listeners in Warsaw and the Warsaw voivodship had the first occasion to listen to first test programmes aired by Radio Solidarity.

Radio Solidarity station plans to beam regular programmes within the next ten days, devoted chiefly to local problems linked with activities of Solidarity's Mazowsze chapter and local authorities. The station has also established cooperation ties with the BBC.

Mazowiecki Advocates Debt Reduction in Paris

PM3105093690 Paris LE MONDE in French 30 May 90 p 5

["S.Sh."-signed report: "Mr. Mazowiecki Calls For 'A Bold Solution' to the Polish Debt Problem"]

[Text] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who arrived in Paris on Monday, 28 May, for a 48-hour official visit, advocated a reduction in the Polish debt. He expressed the desire for part of it to be canceled, reaffirming that in 1953 an agreement of this kind was accepted with the FRG.

During the luncheon given by Michel Rocard, he called for the implementation, with France's support, of a "bold solution." "We want a solution," he said, "in which the payment of interest on the debt left by the previous regime would not paralyze the possibilities for growth in our economy." But, according to French sources, despite Paris' goodwill, there can be no question of even partial "cancellation" of the debt. However, the French support takes the form of a bilateral agreement on rescheduling which should be signed Tuesday and which constitutes the French part of the emergency rescheduling decided by the Paris Club in February. It provides exceptional repayment periods and a moratorium on payments for 1990, the same source stated.

France is Poland's second biggest creditor after the FRG, with 11 percent of the total debt which is estimated at $42 billion. But it ranks sixth among Poland's commercial partners and has relatively few enterprises in Poland. This is a presence which Mr. Rocard has promised to "considerably strengthen" by setting up "a new procedure to aid investment."

Mr. Mazowiecki was received on Monday evening by President Mitterrand who promised to act as "Poland's advocate" but gave no specific pledges, Elysee spokesman Hubert Vedrine said.

Jaruzelski Receives Bank of France Governor

LD2605193690 Warsaw PAP in English 1655 GMT 26 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 26—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today [26 May] Governor of the Bank of France Jacques de Larosiere.

Jacques de Larosiere and Wladyslaw Baka, the president of the National Bank of Poland participating in the meeting, presented to the president a programme of ventures aimed at deepening cooperation between banking institutions in Poland and France, particularlyl in training bank employees and adjusting the Polish banking system to international standards.

President Jaruzelski stressed that the success of the Polish economic programme is largely dependent on working out a constructive, far-reaching solution to Poland's foreign debt.

Participants in the meeting also referred to the role of the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development, under creation now, in supporting economic transformations in this country, its development and integration with the world economy.

Jacques de Larosiere is paying his first visit to Poland at the invitation from Wladyslaw Baka. During their meeting on Friday, Baka informed the governor of the Bank of France on the issues pertaining to the restructuring of the Polish economy, including the role and the tasks of the state's central bank and those referring to the transformation of the Polish banking system.

Larosiere and Baka shared similar or outright identical views on most of the discussed issues. Both bankers expressed their satisfaction over the business-like and very productive character of their meeting.

Within IMF's technical assistance mission, Christian Madelin and Didier Elbaum, experts of the Bank of France have been cooperating for some time now with the general inspectorate of the bank supervision.

They are in Poland to help create a new system of bank accounts compatible with EC standards, to work out new regulations concerning bank risk and financial liquidity, and solve other issues.

Ratiu Wants Key Portfolios for Opposition

AU3105163990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1518 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 31/5/1990—In an interview with ROMANIA LIBERA, Mr. Ion Ratiu, former candidate of the Christian and Democratic National Peasants Party for Romania's presidency, now a deputy to the new parliament, expressed his conviction that the opposition would be given key portfolios in the future government. It would be very wise for Mr. Ion Iliescu to do such a thing, he stated.

In another sequence of ideas he said the deputies of his party would try to unite the opposition, which is an essential prerequisite for a good functioning of democracy.

Referring to the poor results his party obtained in the recent ballot, Mr. Ion Ratiu stated: the lack of a coherent opposition is the major cause of defeat. Another cause lies in the fact that it did not have a powerful organization throughout the country, especially in rural settlements.

NSF Berates 'Mud-Slinging' During Election

AU3105123390 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 25 May 90 pp 1, 2

[Undated communique issued by the National Salvation Front's Press Bureau: "A First Important Step Toward the Democratization of the Country After the Revolution"]

[Text] The 20 May elections have expressed freely and with all procedural guarantees of correctness—domestic and international—the sovereign will of the people, their political choice, and massive preference for the candidate of the National Salvation Front [NSF]. This ballot, expressed in an atmosphere of celebration and characterized by a high-level turnout, meant a vote of confidence in the Front and its programs aimed at renewing Romanian society.

These elections are a first important step toward the country's democratization after the revolution, but they will not be the last. Their significance consists especially in demonstrating the quasi-general desire to participate in public life and in the country's reconstruction.

One of the essential rules of democracy is acceptance of the people's will when—or especially when—it is not in one's favor. Unfortunately, in the past few days we have been witnessing an intolerable process of slandering the people, who are accused—by an aggressive political minority—of lacking political culture, immaturity, and of an inability to discern the simple reason why they voted as their conscience dictated. It seems that, in fact, an "original" democracy is desired, without the people or without consulting them.

The frustration of those who hoped for the "Nicaragua syndrome"—that is, a favorable development for the extreme right—now seems to be full of venom and charged with violence. In this sense, we want to protest against such articles as the editorial "The Country's Crypt Is Well Built," published today in DREPTATEA, the press organ of the National Peasants (Christian Democratic) Party. It is intolerable that the people's voice should be viewed as the "uproar of the rabble in the street." It is intolerable that the people are accused of culpability, loss of memory, apostasy, self-denial, and of being unable to make decisions only for the simple reason that on 20 May they did not give their trust to those who wish to introduce an atmosphere of intolerance and violence into Romanian society. One may ask the question: How will those who make such statements be able to ask this nation for support in the coming electoral consultations?

Instead of drawing the necessary conclusions from this electoral lesson—a clear sign of marginalization of the concepts and attitudes of extremists—attempts are made through provocations, instigation, and the molestation of certain dignitaries—as was the case last night—and through verbal abuse and the denigration of our country's image abroad to question the votes of 16 million Romanian citizens, the great majority of whom voted for order, stability, and balance. Is it not an insult to the millions of Romanians who, demonstrating political maturity, clearly and straightforwardly voiced their opinion on who should lead the country at this point?

We believe that those who came to the polls in order to teach us democracy have to begin by respecting the people's will themselves. Constructive opposition can begin only from this point.

How are we to interpret the statements of the newspaper DREPTATEA, according to which an alternative to the 20 May elections is "anger," "wakefulness," and "blood-spilled hearths up to the final victory?" How are we to understand the appeal: "In the days of rage to come, let us prepare for them a crypt, damnation, and oblivion" in any other way than as a fascist type of instigation to revenge and violence?! Compared with the appeal issued by the National Alliance for the Timisoara Proclamation at a meeting in University Square—an appeal printed on the same page of the paper—such an appeal means an open provocation against Romanian democracy.

We call on all people of good faith in our country to firmly condemn these attempts to sabotage the democratic process in Romania, these mud-slinging attempts during the holiday of the first democratic elections in postwar Romania.

* Difficulties Faced by Provisional Government

90BA0129A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 12 May 90 p 1

[Darie Novaceanu article]

[Text] In another week, namely on 18 May, the electoral campaign will be ended; none of the parties or candidates, regardless of the position for which they are running or whom they represent, will be allowed to campaign in the last two days before the elections. Of course, propaganda material—posters, photographs of the candidates, slogans written on windows and walls—will remain in place and will continue their propaganda action, but there will be no meetings, asssemblies, or (I fervently hope) demonstrations. That's what the Electoral Law envisages and what is proper: After two months of harassment designed to divide us and affiliate us to some party or to none, we need these two days of peace and quiet. A kind of peace and quiet that this time have a political dimension. Two days in which to be just with ourselves and think undisturbed about our future (in fact, the country's future), a future on which we will decide through our "universal, direct, secret, and freely expressed" ballots (Article 3). Two days of pause and reflection, and if you like, even meditation and prayer; but also of necessary relaxation. Because on election day we must be well rested, alert, and with a clear mind. Even if they have only been able to say it through their more or less representative "representatives," the Romanian people are waiting for 20 May and election day with bated breath, so that they can prove to themselves and to the world that throughout these miserable 50 years their lives were not in vain.

Much has been happening in these past two months. Some of these events we will mention only after the elections, so that no one can accuse us—obviously there is still censorship and self-censorship!—of trying to influence the results of the elections. ADEVARUL ran only the electoral campaign of the voters and wants to remain faithful only to them. But there are enough things of which we can talk anywhere and at any time. Because in any case, in Sartre's words, "we are doomed to freedom" but at the same time, it seems to me that we are doomed to not being able to communicate among ourselves and to reach "unanimous agreement." That in itself is a victory of freedom, but an unwanted victory rife with dangers. Within a very short period of time we managed to become, from a society "closely united around..." a world of uncomfortable, disunited, intolerant, intransigent, and... impossible individuals.

This may be the most important and the saddest of all the things worthy of discussion: Until 22 December we had no idea about our future, now each one of us has at least two; all of us had one fatherland, now each has his own. Which means that we are no longer citizens, but individuals. A splendid triumph that no one expected, but that we have managed to turn into a reality. Nevertheless, this triumph could have been predicted: During these two months of electoral campaign, this most difficult and unhappy "inheritance" we received on 22 December demonstrated its noxiousness and social aggressiveness, and was given a false name in the electoral slogans of some parties. It was dubbed neocommunism, but its correct name is moral and material corruption.

A latent corruption; since it could not express itself as soon as it was given freedom and democracy, it broke out suddenly, affecting all ages and social, professional, or intellectual conditions, and manifesting all its bad—if not fatal—qualities, including insults, slander, hatred, vengeance, and violence. Hypocrisy and opportunism sprang out of neocommunism—which in any case will not be able to survive—and went to join corruption. Even though I disagree on many things with those who prolong the fatherland's pain in University Square, on this point I am with them.

The view that this triumph could have been predicted is easy to explain: Our past 50 years were built precisely on these data, data that the majority of us pretended not to see, and the minority (not only the nomenklatura!) began to believe did not exist. Now we see them and they are alive, active, and evil; they set in motion a culture of money earned easily or without labor and obviously, they set the prices, too; prices that in fact are nothing but crimes, whatever the product or the goods, and however intensely desired and superfluous.

I said that it was a latent condition that burst out suddenly. It had to be latent, buried underground, because the oppressive system of communist dictatorship was perfect and was alert day and night, allowing such manifestations only from those dear to it, those very close to it, and those who exercised the oppression. But it seems that it did not break out abruptly: in the first two weeks after the Revolution they didn't even exist, and we all felt exuberant and united. Then came a short period when, without being aware of it, we became alienated from each other and from ourselves, and finally, we let moral and material corruption flow over our heads like a natural fact of life. That is when the first street demonstrations appeared, which no longer obeyed the law, the first unauthorized meetings, and the several attempts to depose the provisional power, the strangest of which still continues.

Naturally, during this week before election day the provisional power was and remains the most severly tested, continually burdened by difficulties, slandered, and threatened. And, just so there is no confusion, when I say provisional power I am referring to the executive power, the government, less so the legislative power, because the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council], although also tried, slandered, and threatened, has been subjected to that from the inside, by its internal structures, in the parliamentary forum, whose latest debates have been nothing but final break ups.

The burden that the provisional government has been bearing on its shoulders has been greater than that of any previous government (we owe the provisional ministers at least gratitude for their endless sleepless nights) and will not be alleviated after the elections. The government that will be formed after the elections will inherit an even greater burden, exacerbated by an economy in disarray (to say the least), a disrupted, although decentralized industry, a slight deficit, and large amounts of money that circulate everywhere except on usual and legal paths. I do not envy that government that will be compelled to begin the transition, and thus to accept the sacrifice and become compromised, and perhaps even self-destruct politically, pulverizing its own future electoral chances, while logically the opposition forces will be consolidated and enjoy a greater prestige.

The transition will be a long process that will continue under future governments, too, and the parties will fulfill their destiny in this process, whose gains cannot be calculated in advance. The privatization, market economy, foreign capital, industrial restructuring, etc. will act not only as economic factors, but also as political factors. Whoever imagines that this transition must be oriented rapidly and directly toward Europe and the long wished-for "common home" will experience nothing but failures. Even if the West thinks of expanding markets worth many billions in which they can sell their goods, we must realize that the West will act to defend and preserve even the economic health of its parsley and sewing thread.

The important thing is that the elections be held, that this demagogical, divided, xenophobic, and hypocritical crusade come to an end. So we are looking forward to our two days of political silence. Let us discover by ourselves who is aspiring to make us even poorer, and if possible, let us all go out to vote in order to preempt poverty, neocommunism, and corruption, proudly defending the freedom and democracy we won through a miracle that is rarely encountered in history.

Police Communique on Demonstrators, Earthquake

AU3105203390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] The General Police Inspectorate reports the following: On 30 May, as a result of the earthquake that occurred at 1341 [1041 GMT], a large number of Bucharest residents tried to reach their homes as soon as possible to see whether their flats or family members had suffered any damage. After the earthquake, 78 vehicles were activated, a great part of which could not cross the city from north to south [word indistinct] except only in a roundabout way, because the major streets of Bucharest in the neighborhood of the University Square were blocked.

Immediately after the earthquake, some groups of people who occupy this area promised that they would permit the circulation of vehicles on the respective part of the boulevard. Taking into consideration the danger of panic, the general police inspectorate delegated two generals to talk with the representatives of those who where in the square, and the Bucharest police moved its own cadres and some students of the Officer High School to create two corridors to ensure the traffic flow. Instead of finding understanding from the group of demonstrators, the police cadres who arrived in the square were insulted, mocked, and even hit with certain objects, aspects also presented by the Romanian Television in its "Current Events" program on the evening of 30 May. Among the people who were hit during those circumstances were Captain Dan Murzea and cadet officers Constantin Galescu, Marcel Stoian, and Gheorghe Marin.

Because of the lack of understanding showed by the demonstrators and because the traffic was forced onto narrow streets, ambulances with license number 37 B.9705, 31 P.7805, and 32 B. 3656 that were transporting people in serious condition to various hospital units were blocked. At the same time, in the same area, [word indistinct] cars of the fire department with license number 31 B.2886, 32 B.8770, and 31 B.1578 were also blocked, of which one was called to extinguish a fire that had started in an machinery building and presented a serious danger of explosion.

The general police department asks the organizers of this demonstration to consider whether it is normal that a small group of people does not permit the normal flow of traffic under conditions of a natural catastrophe and that it occupies the street for several days, and whether it is normal that police cadres, empowered by law—just as in any other country—to protect tranquility and public order, should be treated as on 30 May.

The General Police Inspectorate, also on this occasion, extends thanks to Bucharest citizens for the wise, conscious, and tolerant way in which they treated the events in the center of Bucharest immediately after the earthquake and for not engaging in violence, which could have been ended with casualties.

Signed by Major Anton Marin, head of the Press Bureau of the General Police Inspectorate.

Hunger Strikers' Health Conditions Serious

AU3105204390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] On 31 May, at around 1800 [1500 GMT], there were still several hundreds of demonstrators in Bucharest University Square, reports ROMPRES news agency. Citizens of various ages and professions were speaking on the pavement in front of the tent camp, on the rostrum erected by demonstrators. Apart from attacks against the National Salvation Front or the electoral campaign, the speakers demanded repeatedly and in an insistent way the establishment of a private television station. As a matter of fact, signatures are being collected from citizens for this purpose.

The state of health of the 14 people who are on a hunger strike gives rise to concern. They are permanently under medical observance, ensured voluntarily by various physicians specialized in different areas.

End to University Square Demonstration Urged

AU3105152190

[Editorial Report] Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 26 May carries on page 1 a 600-word "Appeal of the Group for Social Dialogue," which "views it as its duty to immediately and unequivocally define its position on the University Square demonstration, thus contributing to establishing a dynamic and nonviolent atmosphere in our political activity."

After stressing that the Group for Social Dialogue favors a dialogue between the government and demonstrators, the appeal emphasizes that "today's leaders of our country are morally obligated to take steps to fulfill the demands made by the demonstrators."

The appeal goes on to say that "given the conditions created by the 20 May elections, the continuation of the demonstration would be inopportune, especially because of the terrible suffering implied by a prolonged hunger strike." It also stresses that "at this point such a way of protest has to be replaced by other forms of opposition, without which a democratic society cannot exist."

In conclusion, the appeal points out that "even if the final goals of the demonstration could not be achieved in the shortest possible time, the participants in the permanent meeting in University Square have no real reason to feel discouraged. They have to be convinced that they have achieved a moral victory and that, in many other ways, the struggle against communism will continue in a civic and democratic spirit.

"As far as the Group for Social Dialogue is concerned, its members will continue the mission they assumed before these events, namely to critically examine the profound problems of our changing society."

Ministry of Culture Relinquishes Press Control

AU3105120390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0916 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 31/5/1990—The Ministry of Culture no longer assumes any responsibility, as of June 1, 1990, as regards the press, given that it "established itself as autonomous institution, free of any government tutelage."

This "step toward decentralization and liberalization" was announced in a release from the Ministry that explains that the administration of paper and printing space was inherited from the old regime, a situation termed as "abnormal."

From that date on the Ministry of Culture "reserves for itself only the right to protect and encourage the book production which, unlike the press, is its de jure attribution."

This means that the press organs are to negotiate directly with the printing houses that "will take account also of the necessity to ensure a proper run of book printing activity."

The release also mentions that a program was drafted for the renewal of the printing houses and their extension.

Overworked, the printing houses have virtually desisted book production after the revolution. Over 1,000 party, independent and private publications are now published in Romania.

Sailors Return to Work After 7-Day Strike

AU3105111690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0915 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 31/5/1990—After long talks held the previous evening between the governmental commission, managerial staff at "NAVROM" and members of the trade union organization of the seamen now in their seventh day of strike, a mutual agreement was made, the greatest part of the seamen's claims being solved, the rest of them will be discussed after the adoption of the new labour legislation.

Therefore, this morning [31 May] the seamen decided to resume their activity.

No Increase in 'Necessary' Foodstuff Prices

AU3105185390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1743 GMT 31 May 90

["The Economy: Prices of Strictly Necessary Products Remain Unchanged"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 31/5/1990—In a communique to ROMPRES the Press Bureau of the Government shows it is empowered to state: As has been announced, the government decided to allot substantial amounts of foreign currency, to purchase products that are highly necessary to the population.

The delivery prices of the products which are considered as not strictly necessary—fine drinks, instant coffee, cigarettes—were correlated to buying prices. For the time being, there is no question of increasing the prices of strictly necessary products, coffee included, all the more so as the 1990 farm production will live up to expectations.

Asked to refer to the situation of the prices of alimentary and non-alimentary products, the Romanian minister of home trade, Emil Dobrescu, told Bucharest Radio Station that the prices of alimentary and non-alimentary products in the Romanian market would not go up. He also dismissed firmly the rumors according to which his ministry had worked out a programme along that line.

Referring to the government's decision to correlate the delivery prices of a number of imported commodities, which are not considered strictly necessary, with their buying prices, in force in neighboring and other countries, Mr. Dobrescu said that decision covered cigarettes imported from Bulgaria, China and Albania, a number of beverages (imported from Cuba—rum, Albania—brandy, Poland and the USSR—Vodka), as well as canned instant coffee.

Communique of Magyar Democratic Union Presidium

AU3105185190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1743 GMT 31 May 90

["Political Life: Communique of the HDUR (Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania) Presidium"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 31/5/1990—The Hungarians' major interest, just as that of the Romanian society as a whole, is in living in a democratic state of law, set on decentralized structures, shows a communique of the presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [HDUR], which was released at the end of its first working meeting after the May 20 elections. The communique also stresses that the HDUR supports all political and parliamentarian initiatives, no matter whom they come from, as long as they mean steps forward along that line. The form in which the HDUR wishes to achieve all that is not through coalitions or alliances but through specific cooperation, on the basis of an analysis of given situations, the communique further shows pointing out that the HDUR will assume an active role, in line with the principles of democracy, cooperation for their achievement, independence from the other political parties and forces. The HDUR also states for a close cooperation with the representatives of the national minorities in Romania, on the basis full equality of the sides concerned.

Furthermore, the HDUR Presidium highlights the need for the creation of peaceful relations and of conditions of good neighborliness and coexistence between the Hungarian and Romanian nations.

MDUR Head Condemns Hungarian 'Provocations'

AU3105185290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1741 GMT 31 May 90

["Political Life: Domokos Geza Is Against the Actions of Disuniting Romanians and Hungarians"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 31/5/1990—Mr. Domokos Geza, president of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (HDUR) calls on all the Hungarians in Romania "not to let themselves influenced by condemnable attempts that run counter the mutual Romanian-Hungarian interests, and the process of democratization in the country".

He refers to the manifestos in the Hungarian disseminated on May 30 nearby the city of Arad (next to the frontier with Hungary) which announce the officiation of a religious service in front of the Basilica in Budapest to mark 70 years since the signing of the Treaty of Trianon.

The manifestos are signed by the National Christian Union of Hungary Domokos Geza considers "an obscure organization already disavowed by HDUR for its irredentist attitude". The HDUR president also assesses this act as "a provocation aiming at worsening relations between Romania and Hungary and at creating states of inter-ethnic tension in Romania".

The Treaty of Trianon to which the manifestos refer is an act signed on June 4, 1920 whereby the union of Transylvania with Romania, decided by the Great Assembly of Alba Iulia on December 1, 1918, was recognized worldwide.

Bulgarian Protests Against Pollution Noted

AU0106091090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0800 GMT 1 Jun 90

[Text] The ecologist movement Ecoglasnost has asked the Sofia government authorities to contact the Romanian Government in connection with stopping the chlorine production at the Giurgiu Chemical Plant. If this is not done, Ecoglasnost President Petur Slabakov will call on the Bulgarian citizens to form human chains and hold protest rallies.

According to BTA, the earthquakes on 30 and 31 May triggered panic among the population of Ruse, a city lying across the Danube, who feared that the plant's chlorine warehouses might have been destroyed by the earthquake, thus causing an environmental disaster. After the two earth tremors, the content of chlorine ions in Ruse was found to exceed acceptable levels. On 31 May, the people of Ruse organized a protest rally asking for an end to pollution.

U.S. Ambassador 'Interfering' in Domestic Affairs

AU3105133990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 May 90 p 2

[Dragoljub Zarkovic commentary: "Mr. Zimmerman's Interference"]

[Text] We hope that none of Yugoslavia's constituent parts will seriously consider secession, just as we hope that force will not be resorted to in order to preserve the expected unity. With these words, U.S. Ambassador Warren Zimmerman was again interfering in our internal affairs.

And then, as if this was not enough, Mr. Zimmerman impudently goes on and uses our hospitality and tests our patience. At the meeting of the Yugoslav-U.S. Economic Council in Opatija, he said: "We welcome all your aspirations for democracy in Yugoslavia. We hope that all Yugoslav citizens will be able to cast their vote in free elections, as some have already done...," which was followed by: "We support and are materially helping the Yugoslav economic reform, which paves the way for a market-oriented society with more democracy."

It is true that with his few short and clear sentences Mr. Zimmerman therefore touched everything that is dear to the hearts of normal Yugoslavs, those that are not contaminated with political poisonous gases that are used mercilessly like firecrackers at children's parties.

However, the ambassador also affected those who had inhaled too much of this poisonous gas, people who, judging by the uproar, seem to be in the majority.

The wise advice not to consider secession will be seen as interference in our internal political darkness by every ardent supporter of the logic that Yugoslavia is a punishment for his nation and all those who think that it is better to be someone else's servant than one's own master. Zimmerman will also be accused of interfering by those who see force as a chance to make everybody here wear the same kind of clothes, be hungry to the same degree, and think along the same lines, in other words by all those for whom the civilized world begins after the order "line up." What will they only say about his recommendation to hold free elections? Why is he interfering in our elections? Who needs elections now when we are in power?

And then he expresses support for our economic reforms so that we can establish a market-oriented economy with more democracy. Zimmerman has now gone over the top. Why does he have to interfere in this, as if those responsible for our eking out our living do not know that the market-oriented economy would wipe out all their privileges, invalidate mandates, annul political pedigrees, and turn the world upside down to the extent that a Serb and a Slovene would be shaking hands after the successful conclusion of business instead of aiming weapons at each other.

And what is more, he is offering us democracy. This is completely unacceptable because if democracy really existed, the world would finally fall apart into two categories of people—the successful and the less successful. Then, it would be very difficult to rule, make people quarrel, and make neighbors and old friends argue.

Thus one can expect that all those who realize that, in his few sentences, Mr. Zimmerman is proposing unity and a better life for us will react equally fiercely.

If these two assumptions ever come true, then we will only have bitter memories of the old authorities and power. This is why the likes of Zimmerman are dangerous: The current authorities need somebody who will make us quarrel even more so that they can last longer. As long as my neighbor believes that a vacation in Dalmatia is as dangerous as a safari in Katanga, even the worst politics will be applauded.

Bulgaria's Lukanov Arrives for Visit

LD3005103190 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Bulgarian Premier Andrey Lukanov arrived in Yugoslavia on 30 May for a one-day working visit at the invitation of Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic. Ante Markovic and his associates will first have talks with Lukanov, and subsequently the program includes a news conference with Yugoslav and foreign journalists.

'Cordial' Meeting Held

LD3005205690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1639 GMT 30 May 90

[Excerpt] Nis, 30 May (TANJUG)—At the end of talks between the premiers of the governments of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, conducted in Niska Banja on 30 May, Markovic and Lukanov assessed that it is in their mutual interest to develop the two countries and their relations so as to facilitate the Europization of the Balkans rather than the Balkanization of Europe.

The two premiers stressed that the meeting had proceeded in a cordial atmosphere and open dialogue.

The time of this meeting and the events surrounding us have provided a great opportunity for us to exchange opinions about the trends in Europe, particularly in East Europe and the Balkans, Markovic told foreign and domestic journalists at a news conference in Niska Banja.

The talks were also the opportunity to observe the regular pattern of these trends, to locate our position within them, and to see to what degree we have all these things in common with each other, what are our specifics, and to attempt, through exchanging opinions, to direct the development of both countries and thus facilitate their search for their own space in these new circumstances dictating Europe's development.

In this context, we took into account all the sentiments that are at the same time both of a human and a national variety and related to the rights stemming from the current democratization of our societies.

Regardless of the existing difference and the degree and the depth of the continuing changes, it is obvious that the paths we have set out on are identical, Markovic said.

After recalling his several meetings with Markovic, Andrey Lukanov, Council of Ministers chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, said that today's talks in Niska Banja had been fruitful, open and sincere. This is also a result of the positive processes of democratization taking place in both countries, Lukanov underlined.

We were informed on the implementation of the economic reforms on the path of which Yugoslavia is affirming its strong lead and can boast of exceptional results. There is a great deal of interest in exchanging our experiences, Lukanov said, and went on to advocate the comprehensive expansion of cooperation between enterprises without administrative limitations and regardless of various forms of ownership. Asked by the journalists whether the status of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria had been discussed, Ante Markovic answered that not a single issue had been left out, including the issues regarding the most delicate national sentiments and emotions. Lukanov agreed to this, and added that not a single issue should be regarded as being an obstacle to the development of mutual relations.

In the course of their separate talks, the delegations of the two countries, comprising Stevo Mirjanic, a Federal Executive Council member and secretary for agriculture; Milivoje Maksic, federal deputy foreign affairs secretary; Petar Bashikarov, minister of foreign economic relations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Stefan Staykov, deputy foreign affairs minister, and other officials, assessed that all the potentials for cooperation were not fully exploited. [passage omitted]

Loncar Addresses OECD, Requests Membership

LD3005134390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0951 GMT 30 May 90

[Excerpt] Paris, 30 May (TANJUG)—We propose that a procedure should be set in motion for Yugoslavia's entry into the OECD as a full member, Federal Foreign Affairs Secretary Budimir Loncar said, addressing an OECD ministerial meeting in Paris. On this occasion, he briefly explained why Yugoslavia should be accepted as an OECD member and outlined the Yugoslav concept of integration into the new political and economic process in the world.

Loncar stressed that Yugoslavia would like to become an OECD member by October next year to mark the 30th anniversary of its cooperation with the OECD. Speaking about Yugoslavia's motives, he noted that the country has enjoyed cooperation with this organization for over three decades and that two-thirds of Yugoslavia's trade is with OECD member countries. He also stressed that our industrial, technical, technological, financial, tourist, and cultural cooperation are almost completely oriented to the OECD area. He also added that about 1 million Yugoslavs live and work in this particular area.

The federal secretary stressed that at the moment Yugoslavia is faced with a double challenge. On the internal scene there is a reform-based transformation designed to facilitate a peaceful and efficient transition to political pluralism and parliamentary multiparty democracy and to a market economy capable of responding to the challenges on the world scene.

The external challenge lies in the fact that Yugoslavia, as as country on "the crossroads of world events," is trying to transform its internal concept and its role in European and world processes into a "two-way unique road." For this reason, he added, we have submitted our request for membership in the EC, asked EFTA [European Free Trade Association] for membership in the free trade zone and "today we are asking for a full-fledged membership in your organization." [passage omitted]

FRG Warns Against Founding Yugoslav Parties

LD2605185690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1448 GMT 26 May 90

[Text] Bonn, May 26 (TANJUG)—The West German authorities have informed Yugoslavia that the founding of branches of Yugoslav political parties in the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany is not permitted by law, as learned.

"Under the law on parties, branches of political parties existing in Yugoslavia cannot be founded as parties in the Federal Republic of Germany," the official information said.

Associations of foreigners which are engaged in politics must respect West German regulations, the information warned. The associations are supervised by the political police if they are extremist in their determinations.

Lately, many political movements and parties in Yugoslavia have begun to found their branches in many countries, including the Federal Republic of Germany.

Foreign Secretariat on Mitsotakis Statement

LD2505110490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1617 GMT 23 May 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 May (TANJUG)—After the statement by Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis to Spanish paper ABC that "the Macedonian minority does not exist in Greece because the Macedonian nation neither exists nor has it ever existed," but it is rather an "artificial creation from 1944," TANJUG contacted the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs asking for its comment.

"It is beyond comprehension that Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis, who recently visited our country as leader of the Party of New Democracy and endeavored to assure us of his good intentions, could make such a statement, which represents a direct negation of historical facts and an integral part of sovereign Yugoslavia and its constitutional order," the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs spokesman stressed.

"Such a statement will be met with the equal condemnation of both the Macedonian and the whole Yugoslav public. If the press correctly conveyed Mitsotakis' statement, he must be aware of the disturbing consequences for the relations between our two countries that can arise from such a move. Yugoslavia's readiness to develop good-neighbor relations and cooperation should in no case be interpreted as our weakness if the official Greece still fosters such deceptions," says the statement by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

TANJUG has learned that the Greek ambassador to Yugoslavia was invited to the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs because of Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis' statement.

Trade Protocol Signed With PRC

LD2805112490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1031 GMT 28 May 90

[Text] Belgrade, May 28 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and China on Monday [28 May] signed a $250 million trade protocol for 1990, under which Yugoslavia will export $100 million worth of goods to China in return for imports valuing $150 million.

Yugoslav Deputy Secretary for Foreign Economic Relations Boza Jovanovic said that a joint firm for the manufacture of television sets would shortly be set up in Yugoslavia. The new firm's annual output is expected to reach tens of thousands of TV sets.

Forthcoming are also contacts between Yugoslavia's producers of flexible lines for the car industry with Chinese investors, as China plans to build two car plants. This will open up opportunities for the entire Yugoslav machine-building industry, which has acquired a worldwide reputation in the manufacture of complex car-making facilities.

Croat Democratic Changes Party Picks Candidates

LD2805231290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1909 GMT 28 May 90

[Text] Zagreb, 28 May (TANJUG)—The Central Committe [CC] of the Croat League of Communists [LC]-Party of Democratic Changes [SK Hrvatske—Partija Demokratskih Promena, SKH-SDP] accepted on 28 May the list of candidates of this party of the new multiparty composition in the Croat Assembly, which will meet on 30 May at its first constituent assembly.

A candidate for membership of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia Presidency is academic Dr. Dusan Bilandzic, a member of the SKH-SDP CC. Ivica Percan, the newly elected joint representative of the SKH-SDP and Federation of Socialists of Croatia from Pula, is being nominated as one of the four Assembly vice presidents, while Ivan Matija, a SKH-SDP representative in the Trnje district of Zagreb, is being proposed as Chamber of Associated Labor president.

Informing members of the CC about the interparty talks that were conducted in connection with the constituent assembly, Ivica Racan said that the SKH-SDP took as its point of departure the democratic principles of parliamentarianism concerning proportional representation according to the number of mandates won, and that in this regard at republican level "a relatively successful agreement" had been reached with the majority party—the Croatian Democratic Community [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica—HDZ].

This principle was adhered to by the SKH-SDP in the municipal assemblies where it won a majority of mandates. Ivica Racan cited examples, in contracts with this where the HDZ and used its majority in individual municipal assemblies as a voting machine and failed to respect the principle of the proportional representation of representatives of the SKH-SDP (eg. in Gospic, Nova Gradiska, Otocac, Split, Virovitica). This was assessed by Racan as "extremely negative behavior," in contravention of the democratic principles of parliamentarianism, and he said that in such situations the SKH-SDP was not allowed to play the role of a constructive opposition.

Croatian Deputies Walk Out of Assembly

LD3105134890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1021 GMT 31 May 90

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 31 May (TANJUG)—After a two-hour discussion, the deputies of the Croat League of Communists-Party of Democratic Change walked out of the 31 May joint session of all chambers of the Croat Assembly. The reason for this was the refusal to allow a party member to reply to the discussion of Dr. Sima Djodan, a Croatian Democratic Community economic expert. Assembly President Dr. Zarko Domljan refused to allow the right to reply by stating that a reply would be out of place. He claimed that today's discussion can only concern the proposed program of the newly elected president of the Executive Council of the Croat Assembly. [passage omitted]

Assembly Session Continues

LD3105145890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1218 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Zagreb, 31 May (TANJUG)—After interparty squabbles the new Croat Assembly session considering the program of the republican Executive Council has resumed in the afternoon 31 May.

Assembly President Dr. Zarko Domljan accepted that replies constitute a legitimate method of work, and called on Josip Bursic from Rijeka, a Croat League of Communists-Party of Democratic Change [SKH-SDP] deputy, to make a reply. Bursic protested at derogatory comments made by Deputy Sima Djodan, (HDZ) [Croatian Democratic Community], about the situation in Rijeka and discussion regarding the government program made by deputies from this area. Rijeka was and is a Croatian city. Istria and Rijeka were not liberated by Dalmatians only. Derogatory assertions made by Djodan also insult the results of the democratic electons, Bursic said.

Josip Bursic's statements were supported by deputies gathered in the SKH-SDP and associated parties club.

Assembly Elects Officials

LD0106090290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1432 GMT 31 May 90

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 31 May (TANJUG)—In its second day of work, the newly constituted Croat Assembly adopted the bases of the program of the new republican government. Some 30 deputies took part in the six-hour debate.

Many critical comments assessed that a more prominent place should be given in the government's program to stances on the Federal Executive Council program, questions of financing for the underdeveloped regions in the country and the republic, problems of agriculture and rural areas, and the development of infrastructure and maritime resources, tourism, and, in particular, environmental protection. [passage omitted: Two-day assembly session marked by party differences]

After a considerably shortened debate, new Executive Council President Stjepan Mesic proposed the members of the new government, which will have 16 members, of whom 14 were elected on 31 May, and four chairmen of republican committees that are not included in the government.

In a public vote, with three votes against, Mato Babic, Milan Ramljak, and Bernardo Jurlina were elected Executive Council vice presidents.

The following were elected members of the Assembly Executive Council: Drazen Kalodjera with responsibility for restructuring the economy and reprivatization, Gojko Susak for relations with emigres, and Zvonimir Medvedovic for small businesses and underdeveloped regions. In addition, the republican secretaries and chairmen of the republican committees were appointed. Josip Boljkovac was appointed republican secretary for internal affairs and Petar Kriste as republican secretary for national defense, while the posts of republican secretary for justice and administration and republican secretary for finance remained unfilled.

Bozidar Udovic was appointed chairman of the Republican Committee for Energy, Industry, and Crafts; Ivan Tarnaj, chairman of the Republican Committee for Agriculture and Forestry; Zdravko Mrsic, chairman of the Republican Committee for Foreign Relations; Vlatko Pavletic, chairman of the Republican Committee for Education, Culture, Physical and Technical Culture; Andrija Hebrang, chairman of the Republican Committee for Health and Social Welfare; and Stjepan Zdunic was appointed director of the Republican Institute for Social Planning.

The following were appointed as chairmen of republican committees that are not part of the Executive Council: Milan Hrnjak as chairman of the Republican Committee for Construction, Housing, Communal Affairs, and Environmental Protection; Marin Cornja as chairman of the Republican Committee for Veterans' Questions; Osman Muftic as chairman of the Republican Committee for Science and Technology; and Milovan Sibl, as chairman of the Republican Committee for Information. At the moment, the posts of chairmen of five republican committees remain unfilled.

The next Assembly session was scheduled for 20 June.

Agreement on Preparations for Renewal Congress

LD3105231990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Belgrade, 31 May (TANJUG)—The committee for the preparation of the Congress of League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Democratic and Program Renewal reached an agreement on 31 May about the manner of work on drafting proposed documents, above all, the proposed LCY program and statute that should be endorsed by the congress scheduled for 29 September. The committee work will be organized in a way that secures full cooperation and consultation between the LCY parts and their bodies, so that they can actively participate in drafting the proposed documents. Acknowledged experts will be also involved in the committee work.

Representatives of the Macedonian League of Communists [LC] Party of Democratic Transformation, the Croat LC-Party of Democratic Change, and the Slovene LC-Party of Democratic reform, attended today's session—chaired by Miroslav Ivanovic—as observers.

Delegates' Attendance at 14th LCY Congress

AU3005104690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 May 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "521 Delegates Absent"]

[Text] The optimistic forecast of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia

[LCY] that the continuation of the third plenary session of the 14th congress will be attended by the 1,338 elected delegates and 172 members of LCY bodies (who have the same rights as delegates) did not come true.

In the Sava Center, there were 882 delegates and 107 members of LCY bodies (a total of 989), which is 65.5 percent of the total number of delegates. As many as 521 delegates did not turn up. This figure does not, of course, include the delegates from Slovenia whom the organizers of the congress no longer regard as a constituent part of the LCY.

From Bosnia-Hercegovina there were 205 delegates; from Montenegro 103; from Serbia 339; from Kosovo 75; from Vojvodina 143; from the Yugoslav People's Army 79; and five from the basic organizations of the League of Communists in the federation. There were also 22 delegates from Croatia and 18 from Macedonia (mainly from Kumanovo), but nobody from Slovenia, despite a "welcome" message that was sent. The congress was also attended by 14 guests from the country.

Croat Party for Democratic Change on LCY

LD2605112190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1432 GMT 24 May 90

[Text] Zagreb, 24 May (TANJUG)—The delegates of the Croat League of Communists [LC]-Party of Democratic Change [SK Hrvatske—Partija Demokratskih Promena, SKH-SDP] will not attend the resumed 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress. The SKH-SDP Central Committee [CC] concluded previously that, after everything that happened at and after the congress, the LCY in its previous form ceased to exist. This stand was endorsed by the SKH-SDP election conference attended by all delegates at the 14th congress. This was underscored today by the SKH-SDP CC Presidium after a discussion about information on the forthcoming 26 May gathering in Belgrade, which should bring to a close the interrupted congress.

The SKH-SDP CC Presidium believes that the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress ended four months ago. Attempts to symbolicaly end the congress now and the known attempts to convene a new congress of renewal as soon as possible—irrespective of the existence of the required preconditions for holding the congress of renewal—show that the tendency to retain the extraordinary character of the 14th congress and to resume it, although entire republican delegations walked out of it, are still present.

LC organizations that will attend the resumed 14th extraordinary congress, the SKH-SDP CC Presidium assesses, are still not acting in accordance with the proclaimed democratic reforms, even though the process of changes, which proved to be inevitable, has started in their organizations, too. Those sectors are still waging a media war accusing political forces of democratic reforms.

The disappearance of the former LCY from the political scene is not a result of accidental political events but of the historical exhaustion of the old models of socialism and party, the SKH-SDP CC Presidium claims. "The inability to grasp that fundamental historical truth testifies at the same time to the unwillingness to undertake democratic transformation, despite proclamations to the contrary."

The SKH-SDP believes that, regarding the congressional program and its methods of work, as put down in the proposed preparations for the congress of LCY renewal—which the 26 May gathering will discuss—a considerable move forward was made. Many proposals advocated by SKH-SDP representatives are now, after long period of opposition, endorsed, although with a delay. Even though we are lagging behind historical events, sometimes even without a chance of catching up with them, this still testifies that the processes of democratic reform cannot be halted.

The strength of the left-wing parties cannot be based on a priori unity of the federal organization. It primarily stems from the power of left-wing parties proven at multiparty elections in republics. Likewise, under pluralistic conditions, the left-wing forces cannot limit their cooperation to just a part of the left-wing forces, as advocated in some environments.

Such an approach is the manifestation of the unsurpassed thesis that just one party has the monopoly in vanguardism. Hence, the SKH-SDP remains open for contacts, agreements, coordination, and forging links with all reform forces on the democratic left. We are aware that this involves a long process and that various organizations and parties find themselves in different stages of their own transformation, the SKH-SDP CC Presidium statement concludes.

Markovic Said To Be 'Abusing' Position

AU3105104990 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 27 May 90 p 11

[Unattributed commentary: "An Unusual Announcement by Ante Markovic"]

[Text] According to a report carried by TANJUG yesterday, Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic has hinted that his government and he himself intend to form an independent party. TANJUG carried parts of an interview that Markovic had given to the British agency REUTER and British radio (BBC).

Ante Markovic's statements and announcements are unusual, to say the least, and even surprising, despite the fact that there has been a lot of rumor in some circles about this. The unusualness lies in the fact that, if the report is true, many things about this project have been turned upside down and are contrary to democratic traditions. In the political history of the modern world, one first forms political parties and runs in elections and elects the premier only after the elections.

In this case, the present premier wants to form a party, despite the fact that a few months ago he said that he was above all parties. These new statements and changes of opinion of his could be interpreted as a usual tactical move had there not been something else at stake. Namely, one can openly say that with this move, Markovic is not only using, but also abusing his present position as FEC president in order to found his own party.

It is certainly easier—particularly from a financial point of view—to form a party, even one's own newspapers and television channels, while being in this position. However, there is one question—with whose money is it all being done? The government is incessantly talking about the market, but wants BORBA to be its newspaper—BORBA, which has never operated in accordance with market laws and which is fighting against all newspapers and newspaper houses in Serbia that operate in accordance with the laws of the market. Are those huge subsidies that are being granted to BORBA in conformity with the market orientation or with political combinations? One must, therefore, also answer these questions now when Ante Markovic is hinting at forming his own party.

Some other questions are also calling for an answer. Will the leaders of the new party (one can assume that they will be members of the present FEC), along with the great results in curbing inflation that are ascribed to the government measures, also write the two-digit fall in production on their election poster?

There are also some dilemmas that belong more in the realm of morals and the code of behavior in a multiparty system. What will the reaction of the party and its grass roots (read the League of Communists of Yugoslavia) be who have brought him to power as their loyal member of many decades?

One can observe this entire situation from a different angle, too. One monopoly is being brought down and replaced with another one. Is this not a recipe that Franjo Tudjman used and made use of in the Croatian elections? Monopoly is monopoly, be it Ante's or Franjo's, and it means a stab in the back of democracy.

All this, which can be discerned in the aforementioned interview, represents a caricature of parliamentary democracy if the assertions in it are correct.

We have accepted the multiparty system. It remains to be seen who has what kind of interests in order to see the degree of everybody's sincerity.

SFRY Socialist Alliances Support Markovic

LD3105232190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1542 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Titograd, May 31 (TANJUG)—At a meeting here today [31 May], officials of the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance Conferences in the republican and provincial capitals gave support to Prime Minister Ante Markovic in his intention to set up a party coalition rallied round the federal government program.

They assessed that a realistic political space for the emergence of a specific action and political movement for support to the measures and activities of the federal government in the implementation of political and economic reforms was currently being created in Yugoslavia.

Noting that the federal government has broad popular support in the implementation of its program, the Socialist Alliance officials concluded that it was in everyone's interest that the power be held by someone who can use it to the benefit of all, and recalled that the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance gave the mandate to Prime Minister Markovic, whose idea of a coalition is now being criticized in certain parts of the country.

Further on SFRY Assembly Session

LD2905174690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1243 GMT 29 May 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 29 May (TANJUG)—The two-day session of the two chambers of the Yugoslav Assembly ended on 29 May without a formal declaration by delegates on measures to find a way out of the political crisis that SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic, on behalf of the collective head of state, set out in his 28 May address. The proposal by a number of delegates to the effect that the Assembly, as the highest authority in the country, adopt special conclusions that would ease the work of all state and administrative bodies in the country in overcoming the difficulties facing the country did not "get through" either.

After a debate in which some 60 delegates and representatives of the highest state bodies took part, one single conclusion was adopted. The SFRY Assembly will make a decision about the specific measures and activities of the SFRY Presidency on the basis of its rights, duties, and responsibilities as set out in the Constitution. SFRY Assembly President Slobodan Gligorijevic called this conclusion "unique," referring to the fact that a consensus on it has been achieved.

It seems that this neutral conclusion is the only possible outcome of the two-day debate on the situation in the country in which the already well-known differences were once again fully expressed. They can be reduced to three questions: What kind of system to have in Yugoslavia, how to solve the problem of Kosovo, and how and on which bases to reach a new SFRY constitution.

Concluding the session, Slobodan Gligorijevic said that in the debate, despite the differences, expression had been given to the common concern about how to find a way out of the difficult situation, overcome the crisis, prevent the destabilization of the country and preserve its unity, implement the economic and social reforms, and find the best solutions for a better and more democratic society.

Addressing delegates toward the end of today's session, Borisav Jovic expressed gratitude for the support they have given to the activity of the Presidency and its desire to state the true state of affairs in the country to the Yugoslav Assembly and the Yugoslav public.

It should now be clear to everyone that the Presidency is proposing neither the introduction of an emergency situation nor the annulling of the multiparty elections, Jovic stressed, and he repeated that it will persist in protecting constitutionality and legality. It is high time for us to call a halt to the mutual accusations and mistrust. Let us start from the truth that we are equal, and that no one can either impute things to anyone or impose things on anyone, Borisav Jovic concluded.

The first participant in the resumed joint session of the two chambers of the Yugoslav Assembly, Dragoslav Pavlovic, urged tolerance, dialogue, and the continuation of the reform path with simultaneous adherence to the Constitution.

Stressing that he does not want to attack anyone, Pavlovic nevertheless criticized Janez Lukac for taking the floor, reading DEMOS conditions, and, immediately afterward, walking out from the Assembly hall. What can we agree about if each republic adopts its constitution and determines its interests first? What is then left for a joint Yugoslav state, Pavlovic asked.

He criticized Jusuf Keljmendi for presenting at the Assembly platform information from our recent history about which Pavlovic has heard or read nothing. [passage omitted: Verica Dudic urges that a new federal constitution is adopted as soon as possible so that the economic reform can be implemented fully; Milomir Djurovic asks Serbia and Yugoslavia to help the Kosovo economy to find a way out of the crisis; Riza Gasi draws attention to the grave economic situation in Kosovo and urges reinstatement of dismissed workers in Kosovo enterprises]

This session inspired hope that the state Presidency will finally present an adequate analysis of the situation in all social areas. Unfortunately, Kurtes Saliu said, the report delivered by the Presidency president is old-fashioned. It contains neither a detailed analysis nor measures that should be undertaken. It is mainly a description of the existing state of affairs. The most important issues have to be analysed in a scientific manner. This refers to the situation in Kosovo too, about which not even today do we have a document giving a correct diagnosis. Many assessments of the situation in the province are wrong, which means that proposed cures are inadequate, Saliu stressed. In this sense, he added, programs of the Kosovo alternative organizations should be studied to see whether they could be of any help in the development of democratic processes.

Dragan Kujovic stressed that the speech made by the state Presidency president is appropriate to the current situation in the country. The Presidency is telling us to deal with the forthcoming situation and quite rightly insists on setting up constitutional and legal frameworks only within which the economic program can be implemented and democracy developed, Kujovic said. [passage omitted: four delegates discuss the initiatives of the collective head of state; Sulejman Redzepagic draws attention to the frequency of ethnic attacks]

Garip Hadzini expressed the conviction that the majority of Yugoslav citizens support the Presidency's assessments about the situation in the country and its proposed measures.

He assessed that the political and security situation in Kosovo is exceptionally grave and that it has lately escalated to such an extent that it threatens to develop into an interethnic conflict. The originator of national policy, Hadzini holds, is the so-called Kosovo Albanian alternative movement, which has penetrated deeply into the institutions of the system. The alternative movement has succeeded in dividing workers' councils in enterprises, in forming so-called independent trade unions, and in dividing on a national basis delegates in municipal and provincial assemblies. Decisions in assemblies are made on the basis of the principle of outvoting. The alternative movement is going so far as to call for strikes and absenteeism from work places and schools. The alternative movement has succeeded in mobilizing a large number of Albanians on a platform of anti-Serbianism, Hadzini says. He assessed that the taking over of control of some public and state tasks on the part of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia is necessary and justified.

Milan Horvat stressed that the desire to achieve the level of prosperity currently enjoyed by the developed part of Europe is quite understandable, but is not realistic if we continue with old practices according to which everyone tries to prove that they were harmed by the very fact of being a part of Yugoslavia.

With its reports about the situation in the country, the SFRY Presidency wants neither to cause anxiety among the public nor to contribute toward the dramatization of the situation, nor to seek enemies for the sake of preserving the status quo and the existing regime of rule, SFRY Assembly Vice President Stipe Suvar stressed when addressing the delegates of the Yugoslav Assembly. Different assessments made in the course of yesterday's discussion, he added, are unacceptable.

The Presidency believes that it is necessary to draw attention to the seriousness of the political and security situation. It does not want to impose anything on anybody but to present its view about where the thrust of the future joint activity on improving the situation in the SFRY lies. Willingness to support pluralization of the political life and forms of property was expressed. At the same time, it was stated clearly that the collective head of state is not preoccupied with imposing the state of emergency or annulling multiparty elections.

The Presidency, Suvar went on, demands that disputes in Yugoslavia be resolved through consensus and observance of constitutionality and legality, that is, through the application of the Constitution and laws in force. He then stressed that the activity of the collective head of state can be continued in three main directions, which it followed during the past year. These are: the continuation and deepening of the economic reforms, the completion of the process of political pluralization and the introduction of the multiparty system in the entire country, and Yugoslavia joining Europe.

Going on to stress the four points that, in his view, are keys to the future of Yugoslavia, Suvar said that on two of them—the economic reforms and integration within Europe—we have, although with difficulty and after making efforts, nevertheless reached, more or less, a general consensus in Yugoslavia. So there remain two key topics. When agreement is reached on them, Yugoslavia, according to Suvar, will acquire new historical legitimacy.

This is, first of all, the introduction of a multiparty system throughout the country. After the multiparty elections in Croatia and Slovenia, I believe that it is an illusion that this process can be halted or slowed up significantly in any part of the SFRY. Furthermore, it has already been intimated that these elections will take place by the end of the year in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro, and elections also await us for the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber.

It would be an illusion to think that the wish of the majority of citizens of Croatia and Slovenia, or any republic of ours in which such elections are held, can be annulled by some force.

The fourth topic is the character of Yugoslavia. A new historical agreement and the new legitimacy of the country, Suvar believes, is possible only as an agreement among the democratically elected representatives of all our nations and nationalities.

Whether the two remaining tasks will be accomplished equally successfully as the first two will depend on the maturity of all of us for democracy. However, Suvar said, it is certain that the one-sided dismemberment of Yugoslavia, without an established procedure of the implementation of the right to secede, will not ensure peace in the country and a continuation of the reforms that have already been embarked upon. Likewise, the taking on of the role of the guardian of Yugoslavia above or against any nation or republic will have the same effect.

Recalling that the SFRY Presidency undertook the obligation to initiate political consensus among representatives of all republics, Suvar stressed that in order for the stability of that process to be ensured, the Presidency must protect the internal and external borders of Yugoslavia, about which there is complete agreement. This is, after all, in the domain of its constitutional responsibility, because "there is no democratic solution to the issue of borders, but only the show of force and spilling of blood. Therefore, we shall not accept talks about this," Suvar specified. Neither Europe nor the world are accepting it either, he added.

Later on, the SFRY Presidency vice president stressed that the process of endorsing the SFRY Presidency's proposal concerning the adoption of a new federal constitution has faltered because some republics are still opposing it by demanding the right to adopt republican constitutions. Precisely because it is impossible to reach agreement with everyone simultaneously and because republican constitutions could contain opposing solutions, the Presidency insists on parallel work and cooperation on developing Yugoslav, republican, and provincial constitutions. A new constitutional system should be reached in a peaceful and constitutional manner.

The right to secession should be specified. All Yugoslav nations must remain equal. If any of them perceives Yugoslavia as a burden or goal, it has the right to leave it but without endangering other nations or to their detriment.

Yugoslavia provides our only comparative advangate, Suvar stressed. It now faces turmoils and disinegrational tensions. However, the first signs of a new integration are becoming visible. Let us try to transform Yugoslavia into a modern political community so that it proves to be our advantage in Europe and the world, he concluded.

SFRY Presidency member Riza Sapundziu, in a short address to the delegates, denied claims made in press articles and in yesterday's discussions that ascribe separatism to him.

I presented my views about a legal document in a designated place. The press published what I said but with a small mistake, which I corrected the next day through the Pristina TANJUG desk. Some did not publish the correction, and this shows how honorable they are. Later on that (incorrect) version was used to make claims that I advocated the secession of the province, which is not true. What I said can be checked in RILINDJA, Sapundziu said.

For instance, on 16 May, POLITIKA wrote that "instead of being grateful and respecting hospitality on foreign territory, I demanded that Albanians be recognized as a nation, and I forgot that they are a national minority."

Let me make my position clear, Sapundziu went on. I am not a guest, nor are Albanians guests. For several centuries we have been living together with Serbs and Montenegrins. I myself—since I am not a guest—will not go.

I have always advocated and will continue to advocate that we live proudly and in a brotherly way with all nations, Sapundziu stressed. At the end of today's session, Presidency President Borisav Jovic expressed gratitude on behalf of the SFRY Presidency for the strong support that many delegates have given to the activity of the Presidency and for its desire to tell the Yugoslav Assembly and Yugoslav public the real political and security situation.

This Assembly session was preceded by an atmosphere of concern over decisions and measures that the Presidency had never examined, let alone proposed. To a large extent, this influenced the debate in the Assembly, or rather the orientation of the delegates who have been asking what is actually happening, Jovic said.

"I hope that it is now clear, after the address and the whole debate, that the Presidency is proposing neither the introduction of a state of emergency, nor emergency measures, nor the annulment of the multiparty elections that have been carried out. If some delegates expressed doubt about this, they no longer have any reason to do so."

It is also indisputable—and all delegates have supported this—that it is indeed essential for the SFRY Presidency to take a fresh political initiative on talks on the future of the country and of its constitutional system, on talks to take place with the leadership of all socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces and on all contentious issues, all initiatives, all differing views, and to create an atmosphere of tolerance and cooperation that is essential as the basis of successful Assembly work on further constitutional changes.

It is also clear and indisputable that we can and must discuss all proposals and all alternatives equally, without anyone's stance or wishes being imposed. And it is clear that there are differing stances. That was very clear here as well, and these can and must be discussed. I do not believe that anyone is opposed to the proposal that everybody should be allowed the legal, juridical solution of secession if, in discussions, an acceptable solution for coexistence is not found. In what way this will be established is a matter of the law to be proposed to the Assembly, which will discuss it in detail and make a decision on it.

I see no difference over the issue of multiparty organization and free multiparty elections. I am firmly convinced that we will carry out multiparty elections by the end of the year throughout the country, in an organized manner and simultaneously, on the basis of the law that we are going to adopt. This in no way calls into question the elections already held in the SR of Slovenia and the SR of Croatia, nor the legitimacy and legality of the newly elected leaderships, Jovic said.

Let us be patient and cooperative if we want to change Yugoslavia's Constitution. In changing the Constitution of Yugoslavia, we should fight for our stances and convictions and win them in a democratic way. Violation of the Constitution means the usurpation of the rights of others, and no one has that right.

We are all aware of the process before us and the changes we are striving for, but it is our responsibility to carry them out in a democratic way and without the risk of legal chaos. Surely that is in everyone's interests. If we desire cooperation rather than the imposition of stands, then it is easy to understand the need for parallel and coordinated work on the constitutions of the republics and the Yugoslav Constitution. It is not a question of which will be adopted first but that they should be coordinated.

The danger of increased nationalism, chauvinism, and revanchism is a reality of our lives. The threat to basic human rights and to people's lives is also, unfortunately, a reality. Perhaps from the viewpoint of certain single-nation environments that do not feel this danger to such an extent, too much emphasis was given to this in the speech, but this is not the case from the point of view of multinational environments, and there should be understanding here as well.

The state must concern itself with threats to the constitutional rights and freedoms of citizens regardless of where in the country they appear. We must all advocate further implementation of economic reform on the basis of the results achieved, but it is clear that we are entering a difficult phase in the changes to the economic structure, the revival of production and solution of social problems. There is surely no dispute over the fact that we are all in favor of market orientation, Jovic stressed.

The SFRY Presidency is oriented toward the development by democratic means of a legal, economic, and political system that will take us out of the crisis without prejudice to anyone or the imposition of solutions. It is high time that we put an end to mutual allegations and mistrust. Let us proceed from the truth that we are equal and that no one can impose or force anything on anyone else, Jovic stressed.

It is our aim to remove in a relatively short period, by means of the activities we have decided on, the doubts and mistrust, and instead of crude mutual recriminations, to enter into an atmosphere of tolerant discussion of our future. It would be extremely unfortunate if the further course of events took the form of the imposition of wishes and solutions by anybody on anybody. We must avoid this. If we are not sensible enough to respect the rights of others, we must expect that everyone will defend his own rights as best he can if the state, whose duty it is to do so, does not succeed in this. If we reach that point, the question is what means will be used to defend these rights. Surely, no one wants to reach such a situation.

The SFRY Presidency has its responsibility for the situation in the country, and it will consistently carry out its duties and responsibilities. As for the directions of the measures and activities that we have outlined to the SFRY Assembly, the Presidency will do everything within its power in the coming period to realize these, Jovic stressed in conclusion. [passage omitted: Janez Lukac defends Demos as legally elected party in connection with the demands of a group of delegates for his dismissal from the council of the Museum of the Second Session of the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia in Jajce because of his allegiance to Demos; Ilijaz Kurtesi defends himself against accusations that he should be present in court in Pec and not at an Assembly session]

Assembly Session Ends

AU2905115190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 29 May 90

[Correspondent Milorad Jovic report on joint session of the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly in Belgrade on 28-29 May—recorded]

[Text] [Jovic] Fifty-eight delegates and two members of the collective head of state, Riza Sapundziu and Dr. Stipe Suvar, have taken part in a 12-hour debate about the expose on the political-security situation in the country that Dr. Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, had presented on behalf of the SFRY Presidency. Dr. Borisav Jovic spoke once again and confirmed the SFRY Presidency's intention to contribute to overcoming the deep crisis through its activity, that is, by protecting legality and constitutionality in the country.

Several minutes ago, SFRY Assembly President Slobodan Gligorijevic read the proposal of the conclusions that the delegates endorsed with spontaneous applause. Let us hear the conclusions:

[Gligorijevic] At the joint session of the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces on 28 and 29 May 1990, according to Article 318 of the SFRY Constitution, the SFRY Assembly was informed about the assessments and stands of the SFRY Presidency concerning the current political-security situation in the country and the proposed measures and activities that should be carried out. The SFRY Assembly will decide about specific measures and activities within the framework of its rights, obligations, and responsibilities stipulated by the Constitution. This is the conclusion upon which all delegations to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces and the Federal Chamber have agreed. [applause]

Drnovsek Discusses Presidency Achievements

AU2505090390 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 19 May 90 pp 6, 7

[Interview with former SFRY Presidency President Dr. Janez Drnovsek by Sasa Nikasinovic and Branka Primorac in Ljubljana on 14 May: "It Is Important for Europe That We Are a State"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [VECERNJI LIST] Major changes have taken place inside and outside the country in the year that you have been head of state. How do you assess the activities of the SFRY Presidency over this year and your personal contribution to these activities?

[Drnovsek] There have been great changes this year, and this after long years of stagnation. It is important for me that this movement has begun and is going in the right direction. For me, this is a pluralist democracy in all aspects, particularly in individual human rights. I expect that it will also be more easy to protect individual human rights in such a system. Control mechanisms are easier to establish in a multiparty democracy. That is the first thing. Second, we nevertheless managed to halt inflation this year because we all remember how it was and what chaos we had, and I think that for the moment we have done quite well. It is also important that the dinar has been made stable and convertible. We also managed to reduce the foreign debt, and we have almost brought it within normal ranges. In the Presidency, we asked for and endorsed an anti-inflationary program.

I would also add here the changes in our foreign policy orientation. In the last year, Yugoslavia has gone more strongly for a European orientation. This orientation was vague at first. There were many problems before we clearly established what we wanted to specifically carry out in our foreign policy activities. I myself made an essential contribution to advocating this European orientation, as did the Presidency. [passage omitted]

[VECERNJI LIST] Would we find it more difficult to enter Europe as a confederation or as a federation?

[Drnovsek] I would not put it like that. It is not necessary since a confederation is a joint state. Indeed, there is no example at the moment of one confederation entering another but there is no reason for this either, because in Europe only some functions and activities will be associated that are of common interest. In this respect, the name is not so important but the subject of negotiations. They are not bothered by our name, whether we are a confederation, federation, or anything else. It is important that this is, nevertheless, a state.

[VECERNJI LIST] Your successor said in an interview to TANJUG that this is not really an unimportant question. How would you comment on that?

[Drnovsek] I think that in that interview he did not discount a confederation. He personally thinks that this leads in the direction of disintegration. I think that it is important to normalize the situation in the country. These constant quarrels and mutual confrontations among our republics cannot last forever. We must reach agreement on how to live together, in this way or that. We have to agree on this. If we want the state to be called a confederation then it will be a confederation, and if we want a federation then it will be a federation. We should put our cards on the table to see in which areas we can cooperate, what binds us together, and to agree on that. Otherwise, we will be constantly quarreling, and this does not lead anywhere. The name itself is of secondary importance: These common functions are important at the moment. [passage omitted]

[VECERNJI LIST] How do you assess the results of the reform so far?

[Drnovsek] I think that we have achieved quite good results and I have to say that Ante Markovic has received much praise from abroad for the results that have been achieved. However, it is clear that very serious questions are being raised concerning how to continue further. The real process of the transformation of the economy has nevertheless not yet begun, and we have still not crossed that point where we can say that the battle has been won.

We have created some institutional conditions but not all of them yet. The question of ownership has still not been specified and in this respect matters should be finalized. That is the central issue for me at the moment.

[VECERNJI LIST] Are you in support of full or partial privatization?

[Drnovsek] I am not in favor of full privatization, but the process should be initiated in such a way that the present social property is not sold off completely, that chaos does not arise, but that this process nevertheless moves quite quickly, and we establish some rules of play. We have still not sufficiently determined these rules of play and the new mechanisms. The share of private ownership should be essentially increased. We are also counting on foreign capital, but other forms of ownership, particularly state ownership, will play an important role.

[VECERNJI LIST] The atmosphere in work organizations is not as expected. Does this mean that in practical terms reform has not yet begun from the bottom?

[Drnovsek] There are problems in precisely this respect because enterprises will continue to be closed and bankruptcy proceedings will also continue. The process is now beginning for the establishment of new enterprises, which will be more efficient and directed toward the market. This process cannot be implemented painlessly. In the last 10 years, we have tried to implement changes painlessly and without too many casualties, but I think that this is the whole point—such thinking is no longer appropriate. Until someone fails, everyone else will not behave extremely rationally and efficiently. It is necessary to find the real middle ground so that social tensions are not too great and can be endured. The state will also need to intervene in order to resolve the social tensions but not in the same way as in the past, by saving failed enterprises. [passage omitted]

[VECERNJI LIST] Your most virulent critic has been Mihajl Kertes, has he not?

[Drnovsek] I must say that I no longer read what he says. According to what I hear, it seems that no one takes him seriously anymore.

In Kosovo—Dialogue With Everyone

[VECERNJI LIST] Say something about Kosovo. Kosovo has calmed down, but it is still a hotbed that is smoldering and that could be very dangerous for the internal circumstances in Yugoslavia.

[Drnovsek] The situation has fortunately calmed down a little, but the problem certainly still remains. I hope that the economic situation in Kosovo will improve in the context of all our reforms. We have suggested to the Federal Executive Council that the World Bank be included in a new developmental program for Kosovo because of its expertise and finance. Such a program would have not only economic but also social elements, including demographic ones.

I think that it is not necessary for us to persistently claim that we are capable of resolving everything ourselves, but for us to involve the best international institutions to help us in this.

The political situation cannot be resolved overnight. Dialogue should be accepted with everyone who lives in Kosovo. We expect that the present democratic processes will embrace Kosovo, as well as the whole of Serbia, and that a stable solution will finally be reached that will allow everyone to live together peacefully. A solution that would be to the detriment of any nationality cannot be a permanent solution. Finally, a compromise solution will have to be found in which everyone will have to step down from some of their demands—there is no other choice. [passage omitted]

[VECERNJI LIST] Very little is known in the public about the proceedings at Presidency sessions. Have there been any sharp quarrels and displays of temper? Has the result of voting often been 4-4 and how was such a deadlock resolved?

[Drnovsek] When there is a ratio of 4:4, this means that a decision that has been proposed cannot be adopted because it has not received a majority of the votes. Otherwise, there have been cases where we have not been able to agree among ourselves, and we have voted. As regards the voting, it is perhaps characteristic that there is greater consensus concerning economic issues than political ones. There have been quite sharp debates and confrontations and even crisis situations. In the Presidency, we have somehow managed to surmount them because, in the final analysis, the Presidency has to function. [passage omitted]

[VECERNJI LIST] Will you now have a particular task in the SFRY Presidency?

[Drnovsek] I would like to deal with the economy as much as possible, and our joining Europe. I will be attempting to direct my activities in that direction as much as possible.

[VECERNJI LIST] Do you think that you will work well with the new president?

[Drnovsek] I hope that we will work well and that he will act correctly as president. I respect him. Even when we have had quite different views, we have nevertheless retained good personal relations and managed to work quite well together. Despite differences, it is always important that a basic propriety exists in mutual relations. [passage omitted]

'Supplement' to Constitutional Amendments

AU3005142790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 May 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Supplement to the Text of Draft Amendments to the SFRY Constitution: More Than 'Editing'"]

[Text] The text of the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution, which was published in BORBA the day before yesterday, did not contain the changes and supplements made by the Constitutional Commission of the SFRY Assembly on 15 May.

According to the report of the Constitutional Commission, another section, Section 9a, is included in Amendment 58. It reads: "Everybody has the right to his earnings on the basis of his work, in accordance with law and the collective agreement, and the earnings must not be less than is necessary to ensure his material and social security." In the same amendment, Section 9 is changed and reads: "The freedom of trade union organization and activity is guaranteed."

Moreover, in Alternative to Amendment 49, the Roman numeral X should be followed by the words: "except Paragraph 17 of Section III"; in Section 2 of Amendment 51, the words "Article 14" should read "Article 14, Paragraphs 1 and 3; in Section 2 of Amendment 55, the words "Section 1, Paragraphs 2 and 5" should read "Section 1, Paragraph 2"; in Amendment 67, add the words "and Section 1, Paragraph 5 of Amendment II to the SFRY Constitution."

Finally, in Alternative to Section 1, Paragraph 1 of Amendment 64, the words "and autonomous provinces 10 delegates (deputies)" should be replaced by the words "and from each autonomous province 10 delegates (deputies)."

New Serbian Constitution Proposed

AU2705155590 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 May 90 pp 7-8

[Document submitted by the Socialist Republic (SR) of Serbia Presidency to the Republican Assembly; date not given: "Proposal for Adopting the New Constitution of the SR of Serbia"]

[Text] Considering the need to arrange relations in the republic completely and harmoniously by adopting a new constitution of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia, at its session held on 14 May 1990, the SR of Serbia Presidency decided on the basis of Amendment XLVII, Point 3, Paragraph 1 to the SR of Serbia Constitution, to submit to the SR of Serbia Assembly the proposal for the adoption of a new constitution of the SR of Serbia.

I. Reasons for and Basic Aims of Adopting a New Constitution

Proceeding from the conviction that necessary preconditions have been created for the development of a democratic socialist society based on the respect for human personality and its freedoms and rights, the Serbian people and other peoples and nationalities living in the SR of Serbia decided to adopt a new constitution that would create a legal basis for comprehensive social and economic progress in the republic.

The adoption of the new SR of Serbia constitution should override those constitutional provisions from 1974 that did not confirm themselves in practice or which particularly negatively affected the constitutional position and development of Serbia. The new constitution should preserve all positive values of the socialist social development of Serbia and Yugoslavia and enrich them with the experiences of the contemporary world and the democratic traditions of the Serbian people, as well as with the achievements of the common life of all peoples and nationalities in Serbia.

II. Basic Trends for Adopting a New Constitution

The Characteristics of a State

The SR of Serbia is a unified and democratic state of the Serbian people and sections of other peoples and nationalities living in it and a member of the Yugoslav Federation.

Sovereignty belongs to all citizens, i.e., to the people. Citizens exercise sovereignty via their freely elected representatives, through referenda, or through people's initiative [narodna inicijativa].

Elections are direct, the right to vote is general and equal, and the vote is secret. According to conditions envisioned by law, all citizens who are of age possess the right to vote.

The following may take part in elections: political parties, alliances, and professional citizens' associations that are formed and act freely, as well as groups of citizens. They must respect the principles of people's sovereignty, democracy, and the limits of activity envisioned by law and the Constitution.

The Constitution recognizes and guarantees inviolable personal, political, economic, social, and cultural human rights, and citizens are required to fulfill duties envisioned by it. All citizens are guaranteed an equal social dignity and equality before the law, regardless of nationality, race, sex, language, religion, education, political or other conviction, property, social position, and other characteristics.

The SR of Serbia is a rule-of-law state that guarantees personal freedoms to citizens and ensures the rule of the law and Constitution, as an expression of the will of the people.

There are two autonomous provinces within Serbia, the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija, as forms of territorial autonomy. Belgrade is the capital of the SR of Serbia.

Local self-management is executed in communes.

The language officially used in the SR of Serbia is Serbo-Croatian and the official script is Cyrillic. In the parts of the territory of the SR of Serbia populated by minorities, their languages and scripts are also in official use, according to the law.

The SR of Serbia has state symbols: the coat of arms, flag, and anthem.

Citizens' Rights and Obligations

In the SR of Serbia, everything that is not explicitly forbidden by law and the Constitution is permitted. Limits to freedoms and rights are set only by the respect for these same freedoms and rights of others and by limitations envisioned by the Constitution.

The Constitution guarantees personal freedoms such as: the right to life, the right to the respect for private and family life, the inviolability of personal freedom, the freedom to move and settle, the inviolability of one's dwelling, the inviolability of correspondence, the right to have access to justice, the right to human dignity, the right to leave the country and to return to the country, and the like.

Concerning social rights and the rights in the area of culture, the Constitution guarantees the following in particular: the right of parents to decide about bearing children; the right and obligation of parents to support, educate, and bring up children, both legitimate and illegitimate; the protection of family, mothers, children, and young people; free health protection and health care for the poor; the right to a healthy environment; the right to social insurance; the rights of the people incapable of work and lacking sustenance to receive help from the social community; the freedom of scientific, artistic, and cultural creativity; the right of autonomy of higher schools [visoka skola], universities, and academies; access to schooling; and the like.

Concerning economic rights, the Constitution guarantees the following: the right to property and freedom of entrepreneurship, the right to work and freedom of work, the right to a just reward for work, the right of workers to self-manage in social enterprises and to participate in managing other enterprises in which they work, that is, into which they invest according to the law, the freedom of organizing oneself into trade unions, the right to strike, the right to a limited length of a working day, workers' right to weekly and paid annual leave, and the like.

Concerning political rights, the Constitution especially guarantees the following: the freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; the freedom of peaceful association; the freedom of political and other association; the freedom of expression; freedom of the press; the right to citizenship; the right to participate in executing power, which implies the right to freely participate in managing one's own country, either directly or through freely elected representatives; the right to be informed; the right of citizens to be able to send petitions to state bodies; and the like.

Concerning rights on the basis of national affiliation, the Constitution especially guarantees the following: the freedom to express national affiliation and national culture, the freedom to use one's language and script, the freedom of expression and the freedom of affirming one's nationality [nacionalno bice], and the like.

No one can be deprived of legal capacity or citizenship for political reasons. The citizens' obligations are as follows: the defense of homeland, bearing a share of public expenses in proportion to one's financial capabilities, compliance with the law and Constitution, and the execution of public functions conscientiously and responsibly in conformity with the law and Constitution.

In the area of citizens' rights and obligations, the following principles apply: the principle of the direct implementation of the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, as well as the principle that these rights can be limited only by the Constitution.

Economic and Social Setup

The basis of the economic setup of the SR of Serbia consists of the following: all forms of ownership, work, and free entrepreneurship under all types of ownership, and independence and equal position in the market of business entities under all forms of ownership, as well as the free flow of commodities, services, capital, labor force, and knowledge in a competitive market.

The right to appropriate income on the basis of work and on the basis of invested funds is guaranteed. The competition of knowledge and abilities is the basis of employment and work performance is the basis upon which work is evaluated.

Natural resources and other goods of common interest are public or state property. The resources in social property acquired as a result of the work of previous generations represent a common wealth and cannot be alienated without the consent of the respective bodies of the republic, that is, outside of the conditions envisioned by the republican law.

Citizens are guaranteed the right to own and inherit agricultural land and other real estate property.

Foreign persons are guaranteed the rights to carry out, that is, to organize, activities in Serbia, as well as rights on the basis of investment and business operations, under the conditions envisioned by law.

Under equal conditions, the state stimulates the increase of economic and social welfare of all citizens, reduces inequality in the division of wealth and incomes, protects consumers, secures the functioning of a unified market, removes legal and other obstacles to the free flow of goods, capital, and labor force, prevents monopoly, and stamps out the abuse of economic power and any other practices detrimental to common interests.

The state organizes and helps the unified system of social and health insurance in the cases of loss or reduction of means, reduction of capability to work, or illness.

The state arranges a unified system of education and stimulates the development of science and culture.

The Functions of the State

The republic:
- —safeguards the freedoms and rights of citizens and ensures and safeguards constitutionality and legality;
- —regulates the basis of the organization of authority;
- —regulates relations in the area of national defense, public and state security, and the foreign policy;
- —regulates laws on business activities, as well as systemic regulations in the sphere of ownership and contractual relations, finances, relations with foreign countries, the market, planning, labor relations, and social security;
- —determines the strategy of economic, technological, demographic, social, regional, and zoning development, as well as the development of underdeveloped regions; determines and carries out the economic policy that is of common interests for the republic and undertakes measures for directing and stimulating development;
- —regulates and ensures injections of funds and investments in the economy that are of interest for the republic as a whole;
- —ensures the protection of all forms of property; the legal system in the public sector; the use of and improvements to the property that is of general interest; and the protection of and improvements to the environment; it regulates and provides commodity reserves;
- —introduces temporary restrictions concerning the use of part of funds for expenditure when this is requested in the interests of national defense or some other extraordinary circumstances;
- —regulates technical and other conditions for the functioning of public enterprises in infrastructure and other business spheres that are of interest for the republic;
- —concludes agreements with foreign and domestic persons concerning the issue of permits (concessions) for the use of certain natural resources or assets in general use, provided that the funds generated in this way are used for economic development;
- —adopts regulations and decisions needed for carrying out the policies in the fields of social and health insurance, education, science, culture, employment, the protection of environment, and other spheres that are of interest for the republic.

The Organization of the State

The powers of the republican bodies in exercising their functions of authority are limited by the freedoms and rights of man, equality before the law, and the independent and equal position of all subjects involved in carrying out business activities. Relations between state bodies are based on a precise division of authority, as established by the Constitution and the law.

The legislative authority in the republic is exercised by the People's Assembly, consisting of the representatives of the citizens who are elected through direct elections, through general and equal rights to vote, and through a secret ballot. The People's Assembly is a single-chamber assembly.

The People's Assembly is the representative body of the citizens of the republic. People's representatives can be recalled under the conditions as determined by the law.

The Presidency of the republic is the head of the state and a symbol of state unity. The president and Presidency members are elected for five years through general and direct elections. No person may be elected to the post of the president or Presidency member for more than two terms of office.

In the areas of national defense and the state and public security, the Presidency of the republic has powers as determined by law. The Presidency introduces emergency measures in situations envisioned by the Constitution, and under the conditions and in the way as determined by the Constitution.

The Presidency of the republic may, in accordance with the Constitution, at the proposal of the government, reach a decision to dismiss the People's Assembly.

The government is an body that, within the framework of the Constitution and the law, administers the internal and foreign policy of the republic and is the highest body of executive power in the republic. The government is composed of a president and ministers.

The candidates for the president of the government are nominated by the Presidency of the republic. The candidate for the president of the government presents his program and proposes members of his government at a session of the People's Assembly. The People's Assembly elects and dismisses members of the government.

The government is politically accountable for its actions to the People's Assembly. A proposal for holding a vote of no confidence in the government must be signed by at least one-tenth of the representatives of the People's

Assembly. The proposal can be adopted only by a majority vote of the members of the People's Assembly, whereby only the votes in favor of the no-confidence proposal are counted.

The People's Assembly may transfer for a certain period of time, to the government the power to regulate with its own regulations certain issues that are within the legislative powers of the People's Assembly.

The ministries and other administrative bodies perform administrative duties. The administration is independent in performing the constitutionally and legally determined duties and is accountable for its work to the government.

The law determines the disposition of the administrative bodies in parts of the territory of the republic in order to ensure that the laws and other regulations of the republic are carried out. The control of law implementation is in the republic's sphere of responsibility.

The functions of the judiciary are carried out on behalf of the people. Judges are subordinated only to the law itself. The judiciary is self-standing and independent from any other authority. Judges enjoy permanency and cannot be transferred, and their office may be terminated only in the cases as determined by the law.

The Supreme Court of Serbia is the highest court in the republic. The judges in the courts in the republic are appointed and dismissed by the People's Assembly on the basis of a public invitation of applications for the office. [sentence as published]

The Public Prosecutor's Office, as an independent body of the state authority, is the body of criminal persecution and performs its functions exclusively according to the law. The public prosecutor of the republic carries out the duties of the Public Prosecutor's Office throughout the entire territory of the republic. All public prosecutors in the republic are appointed and dismissed by the People's Assembly.

Territorial Organization: Autonomous Provinces, City of Belgrade, and Communes

Autonomous provinces are a form of realizing territorial autonomy within the spheres of activities as determined by the Constitution of the republic. People in autonomous provinces exercise the rights that are an expression of specific national, historic, social, cultural, and other characteristics of the regions in which they are set up.

The sphere of activities of autonomous provinces cannot include the activities that are part of the state's activities. The statute of the autonomous province is the highest legal document in the province. The statute becomes effective following the consent of the People's Assembly of Serbia.

The statute of the province will determine the method of making decisions and will prevent the violation of the sovereign rights of the Yugoslav peoples.

The legal regulations of the province must be in conformity with the Constitution of the republic. The provincial autonomy consists of adopting regulations within the framework of the autonomous province's sphere of activities and of the independently elected bodies of the province on the basis of the Constitution of the republic. The provincial regulations must be in conformity with the corresponding regulations of the republic.

The bodies of the province are: the Assembly of the Province, the Executive Council of the Provincial Assembly, and the provincial bodies of administration. The Executive Council of the Provincial Assembly is the executive body of the province. The provincial bodies of administration carry out provincial regulations, and they carry out republican laws and other republican regulations when and as determined by republican laws.

The position of Belgrade as the capital of the republic will be regulated by a republican law.

The communes are the form of local self-management. The communes are formed in the republic for the purpose of satisfying the common interests and needs of citizens in communal, town-planning, and other questions of local significance.

The affairs of a commune are managed by communal bodies in accordance with the law. The members of these bodies are elected by the people of the commune through general, direct, and secret elections.

The communes may join together for the purpose of realizing their common interests and of carrying out their common tasks. The republic may transfer to the communes certain tasks from some of its functions.

If the provincial or communal bodies fail to carry out their regulations and general acts, the republican bodies of administration will directly ensure the implementation of these when this is in the interest of the implementation of freedoms and rights of citizens.

Guarantees of Constitutionality

The Constitution of the Republic is the highest legal document in the republic. The Constitutional Court of Serbia protects the constitutionality and the rule of law in the republic.

The Constitutional Court decides on:

—the constitutionality of laws, documents with the force of law, statutes of the provinces, as well as other regulations and general documents;
—the conformity of provincial regulations, as well as of other regulations and general documents by republican bodies, with republican laws;
—the conflicts of powers among state bodies;
—election disputes;
—other questions determined by the law.

The president and Constitutional Court members are proposed by the Presidency of the republic and elected by the People's Assembly. The Constitutional Court president is elected for a term of five years. Constitutional Court judges enjoy permanency, and their office may be terminated only in cases determined by the law.

Amendments to the Constitution are decided upon by the People's Assembly with a two-third majority of its members. A People's Assembly decision on amending the Constitution of the Republic comes into effect when it is adopted at a referendum.

Serbian Opposition Parties Call for Protest

LD3005192190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1348 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Belgrade, 30 May (TANJUG)—Five as yet unregistered opposition parties in Serbia have announced for 13 June at 1400 [1200 GMT] a large protest meeting in Republic Square in Belgrade. This was decided on 30 May by representatives of the Democratic Party [Demokratska Stranka—DS], the Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove—SPO], the People's Radical Party [Narodna Radikalna Stranka—NRS], the Social Democratic Party of Yugoslavia [Socijal Demokratske Stranke Jugoslavije—SDSJ], and the Liberal Party [Liberalna Stranka—LS].

The aim of this first joint action of opposition parties is the calling of elections and the demand for a roundtable to be organized at which the party leaders and representatives of the "ruling party" would come face to face. The opposition is calling for the "adoption of proper laws" on the public press, political parties, and elections, which the leaders of the five opposition parties believe would have to be preceded by agreement with the League of Communists.

The opposition bloc of five parties is announcing that at the protest meeting on Republic Square it will "refrain from promoting individual party slogans, interests, and aims" and that the whole meeting will be devoted to the demand for elections, the adoption of laws that Serbia still does not have, and new laws on elections and information.

It is expected that the meeting will be addressed by the leaders of the five parties: Kosta Cavoski, Veljko Guberina, Velimir Cvetic, Predrag Vuletic, Milan Komnenic, Milos Pesic, Milovan Curcic, Mile Peric, Vuk Draskovic, and Dragoljub Micunovic.

Karakusi Offers Resignation at Kosovo Assembly

LD2505113790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1606 GMT 23 May 90

[Summary] Pristina, 23 May (TANYUG)—At the 23 May session, all chambers of the Kosovo Assembly considered the offered resignations of Kosovo Executive Council President Jusuf Zejnulahu, Vice President Muzlim Beca, and nine other Albanian members of the Kosovo government. After a lengthy discussion, the Assembly passed a vote of confidence in the Kosovo Government. In the course of the discussion, Jusuf Karakusi offered his resignation:

"A discussion of Jusuf Karakusi, the provincial secretary for internal affairs, attracted a special attention among the delegates. Karakusi first asked the Assembly to relieve him from his post so that he can retire, and then he tendered his resignation to the post. Karakusi said that his reasons were not personal but were related to the way business was conducted in the Executive Council and the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs. He emphasized that everyone is objectively responsible for the situation in Kosovo and that he personally wanted to resign the post of the provincial secretary for internal affairs several times.

"I know that the constitutional order must be occasionally defended even with arms, Karakusi stressed, but he expressed doubt whether arms were used in time in some cases. If this was not the case, I do not believe that any nationalism would succeed in rallying so many people at funerals of those killed by the security forces. In fact, these rallies were popular protests. I always opposed views that the Kosovo situation can be resolved through the use of force and pressures and proposals from certain bodies that people be put in prisons.

"Karakusi explained that the control of state and public security tasks were taken by the decision of the Serbian Presidency in line with the Constitution adopted last year. Reviewing discussions claiming that a number of policemen were sent away for their national activity, he noted that they are still employees of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs and that some will certainly be reinstated in their posts. Some have retired. The procedure for establishing responsibility was set in motion against 30 of them."

Kosovo Assembly Ends With Vote of Confidence

LD2505113890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 23 May 90

[Text] After 21 hours of work, the two-day joint session of all three chambers of the Kosovo Assembly ended on 23 May in Pristina. After a long discussion in which about 130 delegates took part, the Kosovo Assembly refused to endorse the offered resignation of Provincial Executive Council President Jusuf Zejnulahu, Vice President Mazlim Beca, and nine Executive Council members, all members of Albanian nationality. The Assembly proposed that the vote of confidence in the provincial government is passed. Afterward, Kosovo Executive Council President Jusuf Zejnulahu addressed the delegates and thanked them for showing this additional confidence. Finally, Delegate Slobodan Maric reacted to the decision made by the majority of delegates to pass the vote of confidence in the provincial government.

Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Holds Session

LD2505115290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1115 GMT 23 May 90

[Excerpt] Pristina, 23 May (TANJUG)—The Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee on 23 May supported the draft document regarding the resumption and ending of the 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress and the holding of a congress of renewal. It was decided that apart from Provincial Committee President Rahman Morina, Presidium member Dr. Jagos Zelenovic will represent the Kosovo Communists in the committee for preparations for the congress for the LCY renewal.

The introductory speaker will be Sakir Maksut, member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium. [words indistinct] for democratic, socialist and a federal republic of Yugoslavia, based on the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles, Yugoslavia that provides freedom and equality for all its nations, nationalities and citizens.

Sakir Maksut assessed as encouraging the fact that program documents from some republican and provincial LC organizations presented to the LCY membership after the breakdown of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress have more in common then documents presented at the congress. We hold that, he added, the stance and proposals regarding the resumption of the 14th congress and preparations for the congress of LCY renewal, on which full agreement was reached at the recent working consultative LCY Central Committee session, provide a constructive way out of the situation in which the LCY and its bodies find themselves. The proposals, as he put it, ensure the minimum legitimity for the functioning of the LCY and its bodies. At the same time, the proposals remove obstacles for a full LCY transformation into a modern political party and for equal participation of all LCY parts in further engagement in that direction. [Passage indistinct]

Only three Provincial Committee members took part in the discussion. They supported Rahman Morina's idea that the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress should issue a statement determining more precisely the significance and historical role of Josip Bronz Tito, as well as LCY merits for the country's development and LCY responsibility for the current crisis. It was suggested that the congress of the LCY renewal should deal with the problem of Kosovo, so that, as stated, "the worst is avoided."

It was noted that the Kosovo LC should urge that congressional documents press for "full autonomy of the provinces that are parts of Serbia and that documents state that the provinces are constitutive parts of the federation."

[Words indistinct] proposed that a new session of the Provincial Committee to discuss the current situation in Kosovo is held as soon as possible. This proposal was accepted. [passage indistinct]

In his closing remarks on the situation in the province, Rahman Morina noted that intranational relations are extremely disturbed and tense. Intranational divisions, he said, are widening, while institutions of the system are so blocked that this is assuming dramatic proportions. Many individuals, Morina considers, still do not understand that democracy cannot imply intranational divisions, conflicts, and the right to destroy the republic and country in which we live. He went on to point out that individuals cannot treat as they wish or in an arbitrary manner the names or statues of prominent personalities. He cited the uncivilized and hostile act of vandalism against the bust of Hasan Pristina and noted that the perpetrators of this crime should be punished regardless of who they are.

Morina particularly mentioned the work of Pristina Radio and Television in Albanian, assessing that these programs "openly dispute and ignore the assessments" of the top party bodies in the province. He suggested that the work of these media should be analyzed and that the accountability of individuals should be established.

Commenting on the increasingly frequent stories about a conflict between the LC and the state offices of the province, Morina said that there is no such conflict. It is, however, a question of knowing who should be doing what and what everyone's job is. This is why, he said, the views that are to be heard in the Kosovo Assembly are "inaccurate and fabricated."

Morina dwelt in conclusion on the differing views in connection with the draft of the new Serbian constitution, and said that certain ideas, such as the replacement of the provincial constitution with a statute, are contrary to the stances of the Kosovo LC. These stances are well known, he said, and there is no need for them to be changed. [passage omitted]

Call for Probe of Kosovar Conscripts' Deaths

AU3005102290 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 25 May 90 p 13

[Unattributed report: "Shed Light on the Circumstances Surrounding Soldiers' Deaths"]

[Text] After the deaths of two soldiers of the Albanian nationality, the Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms yesterday sent an open letter to Federal Defense Secretary Veljko Kadijevic that states:

It is well known that the performance of military service in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] is a right, a top honor, and a duty for every citizen. Before they are sent to carry out their military service, the psychological fitness and physical fitness of recruits who are obliged to serve in the YPA are tested, and only those who are fully fit are sent.

Recruits of the Albanian nationality who are obliged to serve in the Army think of their military service as a right and a noble patriotic duty. This is why they are ceremonially seen off with joy by their parents, brothers, sisters, and close relatives, and are similarly welcomed home when they have completed their service.

However, some families of Albanian-nationality conscripts in Kosovo have not experienced this joy. In the last 20 days alone, two young men of Albanian nationality have been returned dead to their parents after meeting violent ends. The family of conscript Vahidin Hajrizi, from the village of Kuklibeg in Dragas Commune, received the sad news that their 21-year-old son lost his life tragically on 26 April in the barracks of Military Post 8693 at Divulje near Trogir. The same news was then sent to the family of conscript Jetullah Desku, from the village of Sicevo near Klina, on 18 May. According to the report of Military Post 5920/12D at Subotica, the 19-year-old Jetullah Desku committed suicide on 18 May, firing five bullets from an automatic rifle into his chest.

Unfortunately, soldiers Vahidin Hajrizi and Jetullah Desku have not been the only ones to return home in sealed coffins. Since 1981, more than 20 soldiers of Albanian nationality have been sent back this way.

The Albanians among us are highly indignant and are openly protesting en masse against all these tragic cases. We therefore expect from you, comrade general, the real truth about these cases and fully detailed explanations of the circumstances under which so many soldiers, members of the Albanian nationality, lost their lives in the bloom of youth, all the more so because the psychological and physical fitness of these recruits for YPA service was established beyond any doubt when they were recruited. It is therefore striking that such healthy young people could take their own lives, even bearing in mind the present conditions of the barracks in which they live. It is still more striking because it is statistically evident that the phenomenon of suicide is rare among Albanians and is less common than among members of other peoples and nationalities. The incontrovertible fact that since 1981, after the well-known events in Kosovo, thousands of mainly young Albanians have been sentenced to long prison terms (of up to even 15 years), and that there have been no suicides in the prisons despite conditions that bear no comparison with those in barracks, increases one's suspicions regarding the circumstances under which many military conscripts take their own lives while serving in the Army. Doubt is strongest among the parents themselves, as is best shown by the refusal of the family of the late Jetullah Desku to allow YPA representatives to attend their son's funeral.

For the aforementioned reasons, the Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms is turning to you comrade general, asking you to commit yourself to investigating the circumstances under which such a large number of young men of Albanian nationality have lost their lives in the YPA. Moreover, the council urges you to take measures to ensure that such cases will not recur and that the complete safety of Albanian-nationality soldiers in the YPA will be guaranteed, the letter concludes. The letter is signed by council President Academician Idriz Ajeti.

Slovenia's Peterle Views Political Situation

AU3005113590 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 30 May 90 p 2

[Interview with Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle by Bertram-Karl Steiner; place and date not given: "Slovenia's New Politicians Want to Change the Yugoslav State Structure—In Favor of a Central Europe on a Voluntary Basis"]

[Text] [Steiner] The change in Yugoslavia's presidential office has brought a determined opponent of Slovene and Croatian sovereignty into an important position. What do you expect of Borisav Jovic's presidency?

[Peterle] Europe is hardly able to judge the change in Yugoslavia brought about by Jovic. On his last day in office, President Janez Drnovsek convincingly expounded Yugoslavia's democratization process to European politicians in Brussels. Two days later, the new president said that the democratization processes in Slovenia and Croatia are unconstitutional. It seems that we will have to live for a certain time with the paradox that part of the country lives in democratic conditions and the other part in totalitarian conditions. Undoubtedly, the slow development in the south is hindering the development in Slovenia.

[Steiner] What possibilities would Jovic have to make things difficult for Slovenia?

[Peterle] He could influence public opinion and try to create a feeling of uncertainty in Slovenia. He could influence the decisions in the Presidium and, being the highest responsible authority for military affairs, he could influence the relationship between the Presidium and the Army. However, I think his real opportunities are constantly decreasing.

[Steiner] How do you or your government assess the term Central Europe?

[Peterle] We want to restore the noble meaning of the term Central Europe, the noble meaning that harms no one. The concept of Central Europe must be given an entirely new starting point, and it must be based on total voluntariness. As a historian, I must say that this was never the case in history.

[Steiner] Is Central Europe an idea of the future?

[Peterle] Yes, why not. We do not have to explain what we have in common in this region, nor do we have to expound the common interests that connect us. Despite the Iron Curtain that divided Central Europe, it will not be difficult for us to create a new identity.

[Steiner] It is also a politician's task to dream. What is your political vision?

[Peterle] All my dreams are based on a Christian foundation. In my dreams, the ecology and economy are linked with social responsibility. Neighborhood plays an important role. It is no use talking about global problems while failing to create healthy conditions in our vicinity.

My vision concerns people who do not need to be concerned because of their belief, their origin, or their ideology. I really dreamed that I was speaking with a German-speaking Carinthian in Carinthia; we both spoke our own language, and we understood each other.

[Steiner] The new Slovenia is a phenomenon of the present and the future. However, at the same time, the phenomenon of Yugoslavia continues to exist in the traditional sense....

[Peterle] Yugoslavia failed twice in this century because it failed to solve its nationalities problems. In both cases, it acted as a dictatorship. A third attempt, if successful, could only be made on the basis of democratic structures.

National Groups in Vojvodina Viewed

AU2505093590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19-20 May 90 p 4

[Article by Slobodan Stanojevic and Zuzana Serences: "Awakening or Blindness"]

[Excerpts] Since the end of last year, Vojvodina has been increasingly characterized by an interethnic phenomenon: the mass setting up of new "national communities." Founding assemblies have so far already been held for "the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians" and the "Alliance of Ruthenians and Ukrainians of Yugoslavia," and the procedure for forming a "Slovak Matica" and the "Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Rumanians" is under way, while the Initiative Committee for Founding the "Alliance of Vojvodina Croats" was set up last week in Subotica.

The national divisions and homogenizations that dominate our country obviously could not bypass this multinational province. However, this is something new in the Vojvodina "political skies" because—while in Croatia special national alliances have existed for years as a form of organization of the nationalities (of Hungarians, Ruthenians, Ukrainians, or other nationalities) that live in this republic and in Slovenia special "interest communities of the nationalities" (Italians and Hungarians) have been operating—in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina there has not been such a solution to the problem of nationalities since the issue of peoples and nationalities has always been resolved jointly within the framework of the institutions of the existing sociopolitical system.

Lost Patience

The "Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians" was the first to appear on the Vojvodina political scene. They, first of all, wanted to operate within the framework of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Vojvodina but the Provincial Conference Coordination Committee of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Vojvodina for Social Organizations and Citizens Associations replied to their request with a "Solomonic solution": It postponed their registration until after the adoption of the new legal provisions on the political and other association of citizens.

This all had the effect of the Hungarian national association "losing its patience" and holding its founding assembly in Dobroslov in April. Andras Agoston, president of the "Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians," stresses that they now have more than 7,000 registered members, but they will have even more. They want to exercise the principle of territorial organization and they envision that when the time comes they will register themselves as a "political organization." Although, at least for the moment, it would not be a classic political party but, in order to achieve its political goals, would cooperate with some other political parties, it will thus be able to ensure the realization of all the cultural, educational, ethnic, historical, and other interests of this nationality. [passage omitted]

The "Alliance of Ruthenians and Ukrainians of Yugoslavia" was also set up last week. The aim of this alliance is to harmonize the actions and interests of these two nationalities in the wider area of Vojvodina, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina. Thus, as the representatives of the two nationalities (Ukrainians in Vojvodina do not have this status but those in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina do) stress, after two decades of a "vacuum" in adequate concern for their basic interests, an association is being created that will be primarily concerned with the protection of cultural and educational rights and the preservation of tradition and all the other rights of nationalities contained in the Constitution. [passage omitted]

To judge by everything, the Vojvodina Romanians are committed to setting up their own "Democratic Community" out of "fear" of what will become of the nationalities in our country "in the new relations." This is what Jon Markovic, the head of the initiative committee for founding this nationality's national association, says:

As you see, everything is beginning to "collapse" and some new relations are being created, and we do not know what will emerge from them. Who in the "new community" will be the "guarantor of the rights" of the nationalities? We will organize ourselves on the territorial principle. We will not be a party, but we will be a decisive factor in preserving the collective identity of the Romanian nationality.

Certain dissatisfaction with the present "rigid institutionalization" of interethnic relations in Vojvodina and concern "for tomorrow" seem to be the reason for Vojvodina Slovaks launching an initiative—which is coming to an end—to carry out the work of the "Slovak Matica in the SFRY." [passage omitted]

What do the "officials" in Vojvodina politics say to all this? Basically, nothing. Some keep quiet, pretending that they "do not see" all this, and others—it seems the more dogmatically oriented—think that this is the consequence of "the awakening of nationalism" in the ranks of members of the nationalities, as well as among the Bunjevci [Catholic ethnic group in northern Vojvodina], Bunjevci-Croats, or Croats. However, all "community members" resolutely reject this, claiming that this is a question of the "apolitical blindness" of people in power, who do not understand that the present numerous institutions have not always nor in a proper manner guaranteed the realization of all rights—particularly those of the nationalities, and especially not in the most widespread, democratic way.

Everyone generally answers with the question: If Yugoslavia justifiably demands that "democratic communities" of members of Yugoslav peoples be created in our neighboring countries (particularly in Hungary and Romania), in order for them to more completely exercise their national rights and interests, why then would something similar "at home"—when this is done by equal nationalities—be at all "suspect" or cause any doubts?